

Rocky Mountain Heist

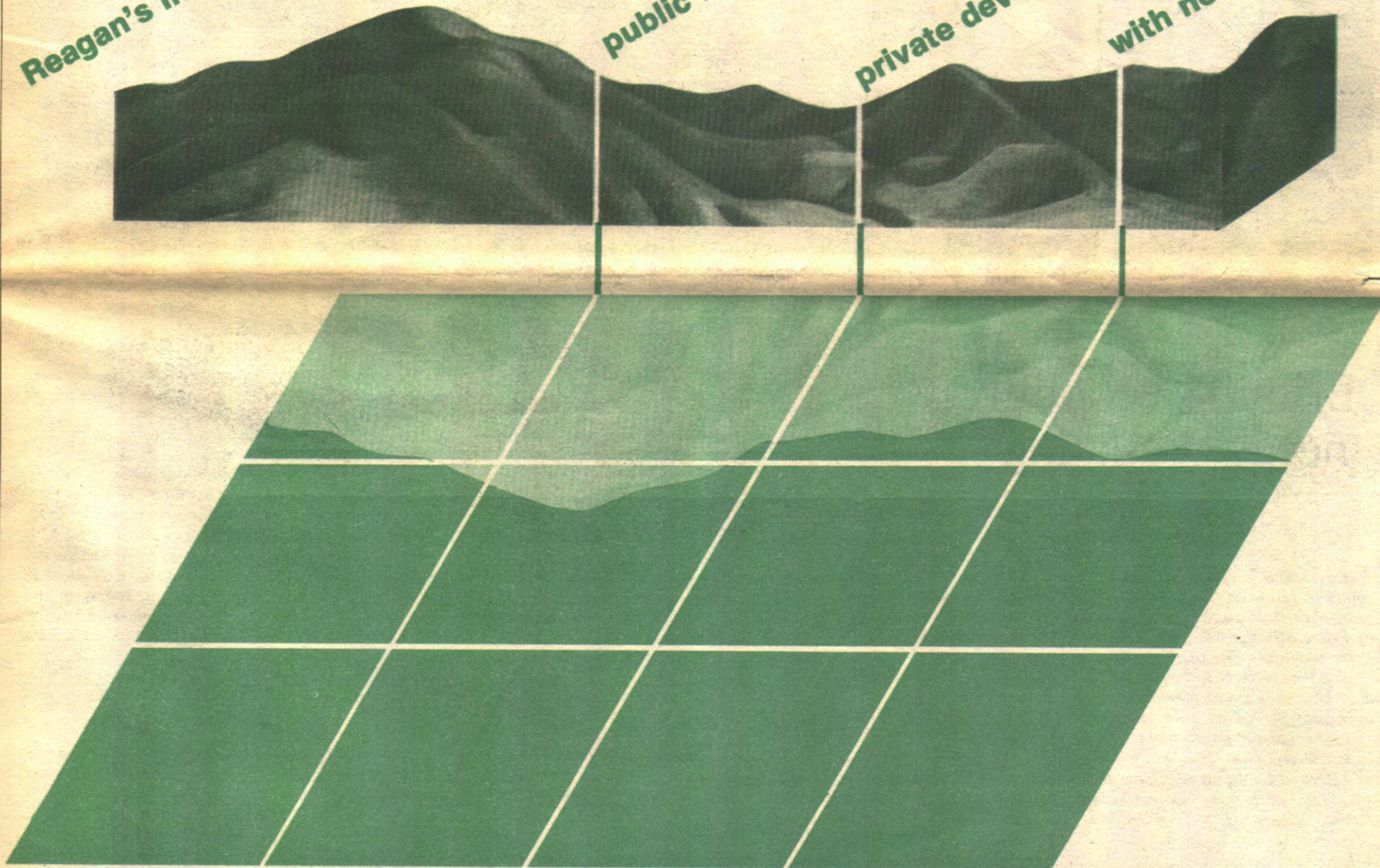
Reagan's Interior Secretary

wants to hand

public lands over to

private developers

with no strings



France's Race Problems

By Diana Johnstone

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THE INSIDE STORY



Stuart Holland's views on economic policy would be influential in a new Labour Party government.

Britain's economy needs "reflating"

By David Moberg

WASHINGTON

If a Labour government led by the party's left wing comes to power in Great Britain in the next couple of years—which is a growing possibility given the failure of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic austerity program—one of the influential voices on economic policy is likely to be that of Stuart Holland. Holland is a 40-year-old member of Parliament who has previously served as an economic advisor in Harold Wilson's Labour government. He has also written or edited several books, including *The Socialist Challenge* and *Beyond Capitalist Planning*. In *These Times* talked with him during the December Eurosociology conference sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism. The second and final part of this interview will appear next week.

What are the lessons of Prime Minister Thatcher's policies for the United States? What can we expect if Reagan follows her course?

If Ronald Reagan in fact follows Thatcher-style policies, then in 15 to 18 months you can expect unemployment to rise, interest rates will remain high, and you will still have considerable price inflation. The sound-money people and the conservative supply economics people ignore both the role of money and public spending in a modern capitalist economy and the changes that have occurred in the supply side of the economy since their kind of 19th century laissez-faire economics disappeared in America with the rise of the giant corporations and the trusts.

What changes do you see in the supply side and in the role of public money?

Thatcher says public spending drains the private sector and has to be cut to make room for the private sector. The monetarists generally talk about "crowding out." In fact, public spending as a proportion of total production or gross domestic product (GDP) in Britain is around 50 percent. But real public spending, as a direct

claim on resources—capital projects, public hospitals, schools, wages and salaries in the public sector—represents only 30 percent of total production. The difference consists of transfer payments, social security, subsidies of food and transport. Economists know that transfer payments are not included in GDP. Transfer payments are taken from GDP and then spent so they are re-added to GDP.

In Britain the real claim of public spending on the supply side is only about 15 percent. Nationalized industry represents only about 12 percent of GDP. For every 100 pounds of public spending about 85 pounds is provided by private enterprise, not public enterprise.

Take a teacher's salary. They will spend a certain amount on gas, electricity, water supply, public transport and telecommunications, but for very few people would it be more than 20 percent of their spending. If they buy a car, it would most likely be a privately produced car, or if they spend money in restaurants it would be for private enterprise. If a hospital or school is produced, the glass, the blocks, and the aluminum will all be supplied by a very few large monopolies. If you cut those public programs, you cut private production.

It shows very clearly with council [public] housing, which is 40 percent of all housing construction in Britain. Of all spending on public housing projects, 92 to 93 percent goes to private contractors. So the National Builders' Federation is now saying that the government has to plan and spend, because if they don't spend so much in the next few weeks a certain number of companies will go bankrupt. They understand that public spending sustains the private sector; it doesn't drain the private sector.

Your argument, then, is that there is no way that the private sector can provide the demand.

It's a mistake to underestimate public spending. The role of the state now is not just as umpire of the rules of the game, tax collector, tariff barrier. It is spender, entrepreneur, and planner of the overall system. You may not have four- or five-year overall plans but the Keynesian intervention is the same.

The irony today is that we have stagnation and inflation at the same time. That ignores another factor on the supply side, the trend to monopoly and multinational capital. That has had two effects. In some cases there has been a marked trend toward greater price-setting power within the national markets. But with this monopoly price-making power—with a few market exceptions, such as automobiles and electronics—deflation of demand will mean less sales for the private sector, and it will mean raising their unit costs of production. If a firm sells 100 widgets under full employment, then sales fall to 80 widgets, and you were previously charging a dollar a widget, with 20 percent surplus capacity there is tremendous pressure to raise the price to \$1.20 to recover revenue from fallen sales. It's important that we reflate the economy to get it up to full capacity so that the production costs will make the normal return at \$1 a unit, but make sure that firms bring prices down.

How would you bring about this reflation with price control?

We in the Labour Party have a program for reflating the economy in areas of social need, especially housing, health, education and social services. That creates demand for industrial goods. That reflation should also include some money for industrial restructuring, for modernization of certain sectors of industry, for moving in particular from lower-valued products to higher-valued products so the world can take more imports

overall from the least developed countries rather than the intermediate or newly industrializing countries. About 70 percent of the investment by multinational capital in recent years has been in about a dozen of the more developed countries outside the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)—South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippine Islands, Indonesia.

Why are you interested in stimulating imports from the least developed countries but not from these newly industrializing countries?

If one is at all interested in overcoming the disparities in world income and also wants to aid the developed countries in restructuring their economies, this should be done on the basis of mutual interest with the least developed countries. From the intermediate countries it is imperative that they themselves should face their own restructuring. We in Britain do not think that we owe an indefinite export surplus to some countries that are characterized by massive state intervention, very tough price controls, considerable subsidies to producers, and import barriers on a major scale. Japan hardly imports anything from anybody and South Korea imports through trading companies that are regulated rigorously. If they import beyond a certain limit their licenses are revoked. Now if they are not going to play by the free trade game, we do not owe it to such countries indefinitely to import from them at the risk of total deindustrialization. On the other hand, on a moral basis we feel we do owe it to other countries to increase imports from them.

Here much of the left argues that we should adjust to free trade, that it provides discipline on firms that would otherwise be irresponsible. You characterize your position as "managed trade." Why not full "free trade"? And how would you manage it?

The analytic basis is this: competition is not an equal process between equals. It's an unequal process between unequals, between losers and gainers, who tend to be cumulative losers and gainers. There are historic shifts where the last generation's gainers fail to adjust to changes and become losers. The U.S. auto companies failed to adjust to smaller cars with better performance and less energy consumption. During that period the Japanese have massively intensified car production. They have, for example, five to seven times more capital per worker than the British motor industry. It's not a matter of imposing discipline through the market with workers already working 40 hours a week and overtime. Those guys can't work 280 hours a week just to compete with robots. Nor can American workers compete with semi-slave labor in certain Southeast Asian and Latin American countries where the absence of free trade unions and certain other freedoms, like free courts, press or migration, means wage rates that are held down not by the market but by oppressive regimes to a fifth or a quarter of U.S. or British costs.

The U.S. auto industry and union criticize the Japanese for not playing by the multinational rules. They export cars here rather than invest here.

There are pressures for the Japanese to invest in other countries, but the more they do so the more they will be subject to the syndrome of underinvestment and underemployment at home. Visiting working-class suburbs in Tokyo recently I saw enormous numbers of small factories shut down that had been subcontractors for Mitsubishi in a variety of components and finished goods. Mitsubishi now finds it cheaper and easier to invest in South Korea or Taiwan than to invest in Tokyo, but no

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You can't blame it on the Fed

By John Judis

IN THE 1976 ELECTION CAMPAIGN Jimmy Carter called Gerald Ford for having permitted what he called the "misery index"—a sum of inflation and unemployment—to rise over 12 percent. In 1980 Carter got his comeuppance from Ronald Reagan, who pointed out that the misery index was now hovering at 20 percent. But in 1984, the Democratic presidential nominee may be able to embarrass Ronald Reagan by pointing to an even higher misery index.

Having surmounted the old boom-bust cycle, which culminated in the 25 percent unemployment of 1933, the U.S. has now embarked upon a stagflation cycle that features steadily worsening inflation and unemployment. In the '50s, the level of unemployment during "recessions"—5.5 percent in 1955—was about the same as unemployment during the "recovery" of 1977-79. In the '50s, inflation was eliminated by recessions. In the 1975 recession, it was 4.3 percent and in the 1980 recession it was 13 percent.

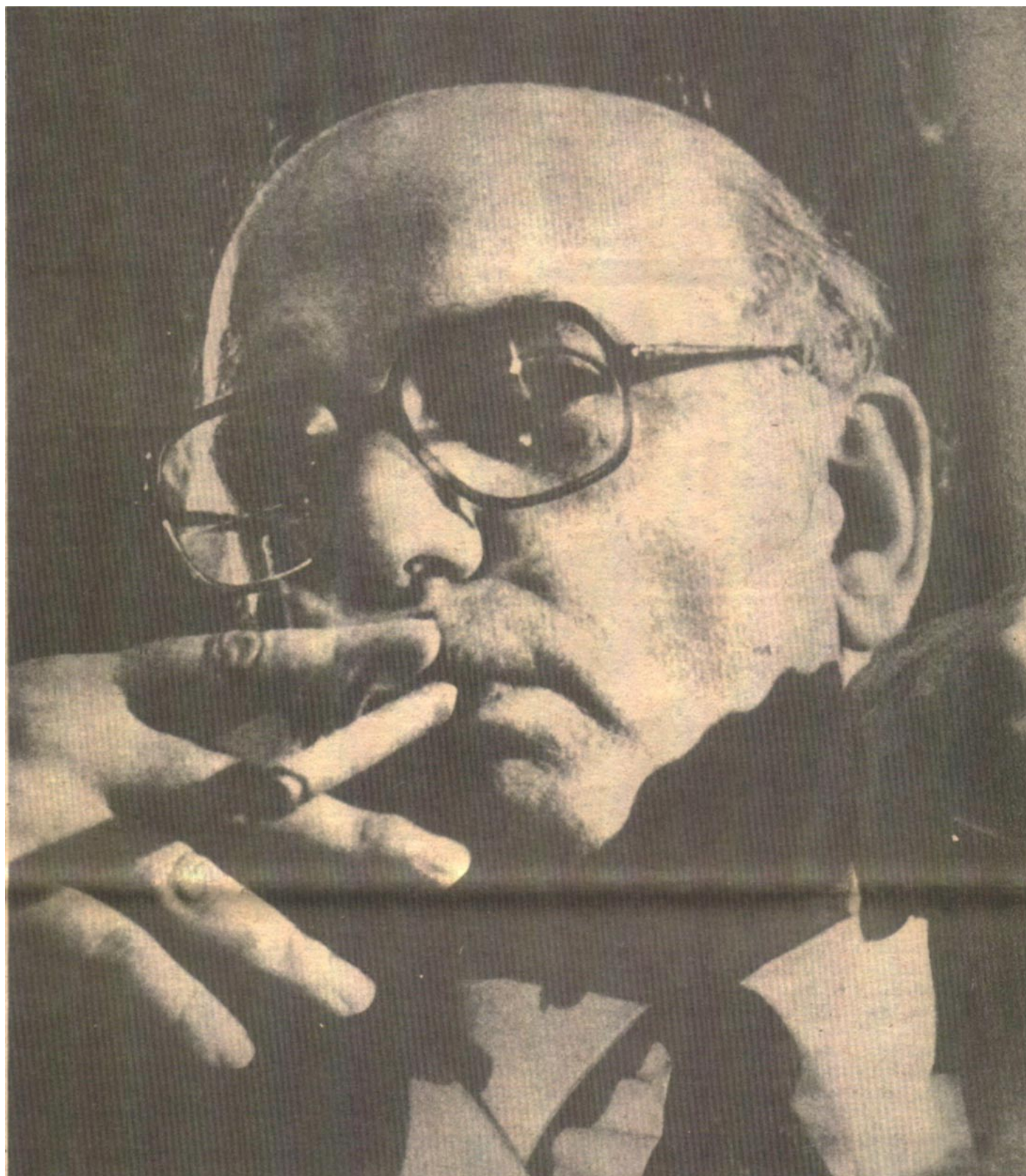
There are two plausible economic remedies to this stagflation cycle. Classical economist Friedrich von Hayek argued in a recent interview that industrial countries like the U.S. and Great Britain would have to undergo a severe depression, with unemployment approaching 20 percent, if they want to "stabilize" prices. (Von Hayek was reluctant to say prices would actually come down.) Such a depression, he argues, would lay the basis for a genuine boom.

The other alternative is price controls. But to stop stagflation, price controls cannot be imposed temporarily. Otherwise, like the Nixon price controls, they will only suppress price increases. If they end up discouraging investment—either indirectly or as a result of a "capital strike" by large corporations against the policy—a government must be prepared to take the next step and install some form of control over corporate investment.

Both these alternatives were unacceptable to Jimmy Carter when he took office in 1977. Carter had dabbled with the possibility of wage-price controls—his chief economic advisor Lawrence Klein supported them—but under intense pressure from business, he dropped both the idea and Klein and appointed the neo-free marketeer Charles Schultze as the head of his Council of Economic Advisors and corporate executive W. Michael Blumenthal as his Secretary of the Treasury.

In 1981, Ronald Reagan has already demonstrated that he too finds the choice of depression or planned economy unacceptable. He appointed as head of Office of Management and the Budget, David Stockman, is a doctrinaire proponent of the free market. His Treasury Secretary Donald Regan is a stockbroker whose main contribution has been to bring department store practices to the stock market business. The men around Reagan—from Rep. Jack Kemp to Alan Greenspan—are also deeply opposed to any controls. And there is no sign that any of them favors a depression—an event that would certainly terminate their candidate's time in office and cut short their own influence on government policy.

The Reagan people are therefore in a bind, and from indications in the business press, they know they are. Having spent the last four years bemoaning budget deficits, high interest rates, fine tuning and gradualism, they have now entered that dusty attic of pseudo-remedies and non-solutions where their predecessors had vainly looked for the means to avoid the horrors of stagflation. And they have struggled with the same answer as the last four administrations: they can do what they want—cut taxes, raise defense spending, and even run a large deficit, if the Federal Reserve does its job.



When his tight-money policies pushed some banks and businesses to the brink of bankruptcy in 1980, Paul Volcker lost his nerve.

According to the Reagan economists, the right Federal Reserve policy is the answer to stagflation.

The Federal Reserve was set up in 1913 to run the country's banking system. Its board is appointed for 14-year terms by the president. In this respect, it is part of the executive branch of the government. But its most important institution—the Open-Market Committee—is made up of Federal Board members and the directors of regional Federal Reserve Banks, who are appointed by their member banks. Its quasi-independent structure reflects the ascendancy of high finance over government.

The Federal Reserve has come to play a critical role in economic policy. Industrial growth depends upon business loans, which underwrite not only large-scale investment, but also consumer purchases and small business. The Federal Reserve can make it easier or more difficult for banks to loan money by increasing or decreasing the reserves that banks have at their disposal to loan. It can affect these reserves by raising or lowering the discount rate (which regulates bank borrowings from the Fed), by changing the federal funds rate (which regulates overnight bank borrowings from each other), by changing the proportion of reserves that banks must keep within the Fed, by imposing controls on credit, or by altering the overall quantity of bank reserves through open-market purchases.

The Fed's open-market operations are shrouded in secrecy. If the Fed decides to

use its notes (dollars) to purchase Treasury notes, either from member banks or from the government, to pay for its debt, it increases the money supply and therefore the money that banks can loan. If it sells Treasury notes, it decreases the money supply.

Through these operations, the Fed can affect industrial expansion or contraction. It can do so in conjunction or at cross purposes with the federal government, which stimulates or discourages investment through its tax and budgetary decisions.

Quarrels between administrations and the Fed have been quite frequent over the last 20 years, with the Fed invariably counselling anti-inflationary contraction and the administration wanting expansion. But behind these disagreements is a political division of labor, which has grown more important as stagflation has grown more intractable. As administrations increasingly shrink from imposing politically unpopular fiscal restraint to dampen inflation, they allow the Fed, over their own protests, to do the job for them by monetary means. In 1969 and 1974, Arthur Burns tightened the screws at Nixon's behest, and in 1979 and 1980, Paul Volcker did so at Jimmy Carter's request.

But the increasing importance of the Fed to national economic policy has had, from its standpoint, two unintended consequences: its operation has become increasingly politicized, and as the principal engine of economic policy, it has had to bear the full weight of American capital-

ism's inescapable decline. This has been perfectly illustrated by the Fed's problems during the last year.

A loss of nerve.

In October 1979, with inflation spiralling and the U.S. dollar in retreat, Volcker announced that the Fed would emphasize the monetary supply rather than interest rates in trying to affect industrial policy. There seem to have been two reasons for this decision. First, the anti-inflationary purpose of interest rate increases had become undermined by the tendency of overseas dollars to flow to the U.S. and increase the money supply when interest rates were raised. In addition, with interest rates perpetually climbing, speculators were now betting on their increase and were therefore no longer deterred from speculating.

Secondly, the Fed seems to have decided to test out the Monetarists' theory that changes in the quantity of money would affect inflation, but not necessarily production. If the theory were correct, the Fed could have the best of both worlds.

In the first quarter of 1980, with the Fed trying to hold down money growth, interest rates fluctuated wildly and inflation climbed to near 20 percent. The bond market threatened to collapse, and the dollar continued to plummet. In March, Volcker, at Carter's behest, sharply put on the brakes, increasing the reserve requirement, raising the discount rate and instituting credit controls. From March

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The Fed

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through May, the money supply declined and interest rates went up to record heights. But the Fed, given the entire responsibility for national economic planning, lost its nerve. With declining car sales threatening to bankrupt Chrysler and possibly also Ford, with Philadelphia's First Pennsylvania Bank on the skids, and with the Hunt brothers' silver losses threatening to pull several Wall Street investment firms under, the Fed reversed its policy and began expanding the money supply again. The recession was nipped in the bud, but inflation continued to climb and the dollar remained under attack.



The Fed's decision to bail out prompted criticism from Republican economists, who charged that Volcker had betrayed his October 1979 pledge to keep monetary growth in check. But the Fed's decision reflected an unwillingness to risk a serious depression for the sake of fighting inflation. Recently, it has reimposed the monetary brakes, but if major corporations and banks are again threatened with bankruptcy, the Fed can be expected to pull back again.

Given the sole responsibility for Am-

erican economic policy, the Fed stopped acting like a penurious banker and instead acted like a public official. As a public official the Fed is not as valuable to administrations caught in the Scylla and Charybdis of unemployment and inflation. But the Reagan administration looks like it will have to find this out the hard way.

Reaganomics.

With David Stockman's appointment as head of the Office of Management and the Budget, Reagan has indicated that he intends to carry out one part of the supply-side economists' program: an across-the-board cut in the rate of taxes. But Reagan's advisors realize that they cannot cut taxes and raise military spending and still expect to reduce substantially the budget deficit they will inherit from Carter. Current estimates in the Reagan camp put the FY 1981 budget at \$650 bil-

lion, \$30 billion more than Reagan projected in his September policy statement. Estimates of the resulting deficit range from \$35 billion to \$60 billion.

It would therefore appear that Reaganomics won't be that different from Carteromics. Investment may expand under a tax cut, but so will inflation, and eventually Reagan will find himself in the same sinking boat that Carter, Ford and Nixon found themselves in. The dollar will be falling, the bond market will be wrecked and corporations will be in-

vesting their funds in real estate rather than new plant and equipment.

But Reagan's people have an answer: the Fed will hold down the money supply, which will cut down inflation but not production. In their memorandum to Reagan, "Avoiding a GOP Economic Dunkirk," Rep. Jack Kemp and Stockman call on Reagan to reach a "Monetary Accord" with Volcker and the Fed and "issue them a new informal 'charter'—namely, to eschew all consideration of extraneous economic variables

Now given sole responsibility for economic policy, the Fed acts less like a banker and more like a public official.

like short-term interest rates, housing market conditions, business cycle fluctuations, etc., and instead to concentrate on one exclusive task: bringing the growth of Federal Reserve Credit and bank reserves to a prudent rate and stabilizations of the international and domestic purchasing power of the dollar."

In the *Wall Street Journal*, supply-sider Norman Ture, who authored the Kemp-Roth bill, reveals the assumptions behind Kemp and Stockman's arguments. Ture advises that "monetary policy should be designed with an eye to its effects on inflation, not on real output." He contends that "there is no significant relationship between changes in the pace of monetary growth and changes in real output."

In other words, Kemp, Stockman and Ture argue that the Fed can singlehandedly solve whatever inflationary problems the supply-siders and hawks might cause by their tax cuts and defense increases. If the money supply is kept down, inflation will be kept down, but production will not be affected.

There has never been a pure test of this Monetarist thesis, but past experience and logic certainly argue against it. The correlation between slow monetary growth and inflation is suspect. The money supply grew slowly during the

price increases of 1973-74, for instance, and it had slowed down early last year, when prices were skyrocketing. The only times a declining money supply clearly led to a decline in prices was when it also led to a drastic decline in production and investment, as occurred in 1975, for instance. In a serious recession, the money supply, interest rates, and prices are all likely to go down, but who wants a serious recession? Ostensibly not Kemp, Ture and Stockman, although some of the traditional Republicans accept this possibility.

Reagan's advisors have even advanced an argument, using the Fed, to show how budget deficits can be OK. According to *Business Week*, Reagan's advisors "privately play down the significance of the deficit, arguing that if it is financed through borrowing from the U.S. public or from foreigners rather than by having the Fed run the printing presses, it need not be inflationary." This argument was echoed by the hitherto austere First Chicago Bank, which called for a "manageable deficit" in its November-December *World Report*. Sounding like Keynesians, First Chicago endorses the conclusion that there is "no relationship whatsoever between deficits and inflation, if money growth is unchanged."

Reagan and the Republicans are arguing that if the Fed refuses to buy U.S. Treasury notes from the government, but instead forces Treasury to sell its notes to the "public"—that is, large banks and corporations—it will not have increased the total money supply, as it would have if it bought the notes itself. There is some truth in this argument, but there is also a catch. If the government sells its notes privately, it competes with private bonds. In the past, the result has been to increase interest rates, which in turn raises the price of housing, cars, etc., and discourages investment. Thus, all paths lead back to stagflation.

Perhaps the only advantage of such anti-Fed polemics and proposals is that so few people, including some of those making the proposals, understand what they are about. They shift economic policy to a rarefied realm where victory and defeat are measured in mysterious little M-1s and M-1Bs. But unfortunately for the Reagan people, the M-1s will finally result in rising misery indices and growing popular dissatisfaction with the administration in power. When that happens, the Reagan people, like their predecessors, will be back where they started: with the only realistic choice available, planning or a depression.

government. To do so we will have to expand the public enterprise base of the economy, in order to gain the leverage on the remainder of the private sector, and in order to gain instruments to do directly what the private sector will not do, even though we subsidize it to the hilt and seek to bribe it with incentives. We will have to try to pitch this to the mesoeconomic level—in between the micro and macro-economic level, the monopoly, multinational sector—through new kinds of mechanisms that we call "planning agreements." We should open the books of big business and put the government in the picture on what big business plans to do as it affects the macro outcome on the economy.

For example, in Britain 30 companies account for 40 percent of our export trade, 75 account for half, and 220 for two-thirds. There are 10,000 regularly exporting firms in the economy. The government should not be directly concerned with the 10,000, but it certainly should with the top 75.

Juggling tax rates, interest rates or exchange rates alone has no effect on this supply structure of the economy. With money supplied from self-financing and borrowing in the Eurodollar and Eurobond markets the multinationals can raise what they like irrespective of interest rates in one country. If you raise interest rates in one country, it raises the cost of borrowing for the remaining small capital, the microeconomy. That policy strings interest rates around their necks at the same time that cuts in federal spending or public spending drop the floor of demand beneath their feet. It's a hangman's economic policy.

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Holland

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alternative employment is being provided in these suburbs of Tokyo.

You get a situation worldwide where multinational capital moves towards profit centers or moves between countries, leaving behind a trail of wrecked industries, regions, urban areas and localities. It's the throwaway industries and the throwaway towns syndrome because of the relatively unrestrained freedom of capital to go where it wants to go and do what it wants to do.

While not totally banning multinational investment or export of capital by our own multinationals, we feel that the whole situation is massively disproportionate. We're in a new ballgame. The value of production by multinational companies worldwide is now greater than the value of world trade. The U.S. is four times more multinational and we are two times more multinational in terms of foreign investment relative to exports than either Germany or Japan. We're primarily exporters of enterprise, and they're primarily exporters of goods. But now, since 1974, with Germany investing in Latin America and Japan investing in the developed countries as well as in Southeast Asia, multinationalization is actually causing problems for everybody.

So in the Labour Party we feel we should extend mechanisms, including new forms of economic democracy and accountability both to workers and to

THE CABINET



Interior Secretary designate James G. Watt

Let 1,000 oil wells bloom, 100 timber companies contend

By Timothy Lange

JAMES G. WATT BELIEVES THAT public interest legal firms such as the Environmental Defense Fund (EDF) are run by extremists. He has accused such groups of promoting excessive government regulation, of impeding "orderly" development of energy resources and of threatening traditional American freedoms.

In July 1977, opinions like those propelled Watt into the president's chair of the Denver-based Mountain States Legal Foundation (MSLF), a conservative public interest law firm. Now, if he gets the expected Senate confirmation, those same views and the backing of brewer Joseph Coors will seat him behind the main desk at the Department of Interior.

Traditionally, secretaries of the interior have been westerners—usually development-oriented men. But in recent years the department has veered toward environmental protection, and corporations anxious to exploit the wealth of public lands have yearned to return to the old days. To them, Watt is the perfect choice for the Interior post.

Within Interior are the Bureau of Land Management, which controls millions of acres of federal land, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which has a long and unsavory record of stealing Indian minerals and water. Estimates vary, but some believe as much as half the nation's remaining coal and uranium lies on Indian lands.

Watt's backers hope that he will open up both federal and Indian holdings in the West as never before, dispensing with most forms of regulation. That is precisely why environmentalists and some Indian tribes have launched a probably doomed effort to stop the appointment. But though the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and the *Baltimore Sun* oppose Watt and are vigorously digging into his past, the new Senate seems an unlikely place for him to run aground.

One of those fighting Watt is Carolyn Johnson, project director of the non-profit Public Lands Institute. "This guy," she says, "epitomizes the philosophy of big government reflecting what big industry wants." A reform fundamentalist who keeps a Bible in his desk drawer, Watt is personally amiable, but politically he is a rigid ideologue to the right of Reagan.

Born and raised in Wyoming, where he graduated from law school in 1962, most of Watt's paychecks until three

Watt's foundation has specialized in helping private developers gain access to public lands and Indian resources.

years ago were signed by Uncle Sam. He was legal aide to a Wyoming senator, served two years as a natural resources lobbyist for the Chamber of Commerce, then was appointed deputy assistant secretary at Interior. In 1972 he was appointed to head up the old Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and in 1975 President Ford chose him for vice-chairman of the now-defunct Federal Power Commission.

Doing good by doing well.

Watts says that while serving on the FPC he was dismayed by repeated intervention of the courts to "undo the good" decisions on behalf of the American people."

One decision that wasn't undone—and in which Watt played the key role—was the FPC's move to allow the price of newly discovered natural gas to rise from 52 cents per thousand cubic feet to \$1.45. Though this near-tripling of prices didn't end controls, it was a move toward the free-market approach that Watt claims is necessary to produce an adequate supply of natural gas.

Watt will tell you that "shrill, no-growth extremists" and meddling bureaucrats are tromping on constitutional rights. MSLF bluntly blames environmental groups for costing Americans millions of dollars through legal actions to prevent off-shore oil drilling, nuclear plant construction, the Alaska pipeline and the use of DDT and other chemicals on crops and timberlands.

Watt believes that these groups are "not environmentalists, they're no-growth advocates trying to control the social order." He says various government agencies—including those he would control if confirmed—have overstepped their authority by trying to "lock out" exploration for fuel and timber on public lands.

In June 1978, Watt wrote that the West was in danger because environmentalists were holding up what he considered ecologically sound energy projects. In this way, he wrote, environmentalists were preparing the way for the West to be "explosively developed, fired by political-economic crisis bringing injury and damage to our environment."

Watt doesn't agree that environmentalism is slipping. "The environmental movement isn't losing," he says. "It's just lost its head." Since Reagan announced that Watt was his choice for Interior, the lawyer has even tried to enshroud himself with an environmentalist aura.

But one Denver attorney, who requested anonymity, said that the idea of Watt or the MSLF being anything but anti-environment is absurd. "When you look at the cases that Mountain States takes on, you get the feeling that they would have been in favor of the buffalo hunters if environmentalists had been suing to protect the herd in the 1870s."

Watt also has other typically rightist views. In 1977, when I interviewed him, he said that he would be afraid to go under the knife of a black surgeon ten years hence because of the supposedly inferior doctors that affirmative action programs were graduating from medical school.

Lawyers for the rich.

Under Watts, MSLF has evolved as the star of six regional legal centers around the nation. The other foundations, organized under the National Legal Center for the Public Interest, are in Kansas City, Atlanta, Chicago, Harrisburg, Pa., and Springfield, Mass. MSLF has adopted much of the vocabulary and tactics of the Environmental Defense Fund and similar consumer and environmentalist legal firms, but the similarities end there. Rarely do the foundations represent those unable to afford legal help elsewhere.

Its philosophy has led MSLF to launch legal attacks against everyone from Common Cause to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, from Nevada's Pyramid Lake Paiute tribe to (ironically) the Secretary of the Interior, from the Environmental Protection Agency to the Colorado Utilities Commission.

National recognition came to MSLF in 1979 when it successfully argued a case against OSHA before the U.S. Supreme Court. Ferrol G. Barlow, a John Birch Society member who runs an Idaho plumbing and electrical firm, had barred OSHA inspectors from his business on the grounds that the agency had no warrant and that he was protected from its searches by the Fourth Amendment. OSHA argued futilely that obtaining war-

rants would hamper its role as workplace watchdog.

Other cases the foundation has taken on include:

- A suit against the EPA to stop the agency from cutting off federal highway funds to Colorado because state legislators had dragged their feet for four years on an automobile exhaust inspection program for the smog-choked Denver area.

- A suit to stop the Colorado Utilities Commission from requiring that low-income and elderly people be permitted special "life-line" utility rates.

- A case arguing that an EPA requirement that oil drillers report spills was unconstitutional because it demanded self-incrimination.

MSLF has also entered cases against affirmative action and the use of school district money for helping dropouts.

But most of the foundation's work is related to helping corporations get access to public lands—including wilderness areas—that MSLF claims are held out of production by bureaucratic delays and the machinations of "extreme environmentalists." Though the foundation notes in its annual report that the companies it represents would exploit mineral and water resources in environmentally sound ways, many of the corporations involved are among the nation's worst polluters and violators of health and safety standards.

Fifty-five men sit on the MSLF board of directors and board of litigation—the cream of the wealthy, right-wing western entrepreneurs. All of them have a great deal of interest in the lands that Interior controls. Among them are Joseph Coors, whose company is expanding into coal and gas production; the chief of the Idaho power company; two officials of the Boise Cascade Corporation; executives of the Burlington Northern and Pacific railroads, which have major energy interests in the West; various independent oilmen; and the vice president of Kennecott Minerals.

What could stop Watt is the foundation's apparent violation of IRS guidelines for tax-exempt law firms. In confirming contributions made to MSLF by various companies, the *Sacramento Bee* in early January learned that the foundation has been doing some businesses' legal research and that some of its donors are also clients in lawsuits pursued by the foundation. The IRS prohibits nonprofit foundations from accepting such legal fees.

But the Senate may see nothing untoward in Watt's activities, and the newly-seated ultra-rightists who were part of the "sagebrush rebellion" undoubtedly see him as a kindred spirit.



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EL SALVADOR



Michael Hammer (left) and Rodolfo Viera (right) were slain along with Michael Pearlman as they dined at the Sheraton.

Two U.S. union officials gunned down

By Renato Camarda

SAN SALVADOR

TWO MORE U.S. CITIZENS AND the president of El Salvador's agrarian reform program were murdered last week in El Salvador just as the Revolutionary Coordinating Front let it be known that everything is ready for a general strike that the opposition expects will open the way for popular insurrection.

On the evening of Jan. 3, two men in civilian clothes entered the *Salon de las Americas* of the Sheraton Hotel, where Rodolfo Viera, president of the agrarian reform program and secretary-general of a U.S.-sponsored peasant union, was having dinner with Michael Hammer of Bethesda, Md., a top-level executive of the international section of the AFL-CIO, and Michael Pearlman, 26, a lawyer from Seattle, Wash. Witnesses say the two men calmly approached the table where Viera, Hammer and Pearlman

were eating, pulled out two .45-caliber pistols and fired 18 bullets into the heads and upper limbs of the three men, who died instantly.

"We are horrified," said Howard Lane, spokesperson for the U.S. embassy here. "We don't know who killed these men," he added, "but the most obvious speculation is that the right wing did it, because they don't like the agrarian reform. But," he continued after a pause, "there could also be other theories."

At the beginning of March 1980, the

U.S.-backed Christian Democratic military junta enacted an extremely controversial agrarian reform law. The only peasant organization to support that law was the *Union Comunal Salvadoreña* (UCS), a peasant union created in 1968 with funds from the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the foreign aid branch of the AFL-CIO. AIFLD previously has been active in such places as Vietnam and Chile, where it was accused of collusion with the CIA.

The two slain North Americans had worked as advisors both to the U.S.-sponsored peasant union and to the government's Agrarian Reform Institute. Michael Hammer had often visited El Salvador in his capacity as director of the agrarian unions program for AIFLD. Mark Pearlman worked out of the AIFLD office in El Salvador and, according to U.S. embassy information, had been a student of Roy Prosterman—an architect of the Salvadorean agrarian reform also known for his participation in the Phoenix program during the latter part of the Vietnam war. That program, much like the agrarian reform of El Salvador, was based on the ruthless elimination of all popular opposition, combined with an attempt to create a loyal middle class among the peasantry.

The third man to die, Rodolfo Viera, escaped five attempts on his life during 1980. He was severely wounded in October. Then, in November a powerful bomb exploded in front of the Agrarian Reform Institute, injuring 45 workers and damaging the structure of the building.

In an interview two weeks before his death, Viera had stated that "more than 200 peasants belonging to our union have been killed in the last 10 months. In most cases," he added, "the National Guard or other military men have been responsible for those crimes. There are people in the government who give orders to those murderers."

Under the agrarian reform program, all land holdings of more than 500 acres have been expropriated. But the former landowners still retain political, economic and military power in the present government. "We were promised," said Viera a few days before his death, "that the law would be implemented, and that all expropriated lands would go to the peasants. But this never happened. Our union has given the government until March to comply with the law. Otherwise we will withdraw our support."

But now Viera and his two U.S. advisors are dead. As is standard procedure in these cases, the president of the junta, Napoleon Duarte, has promised an exhaustive investigation. But so far no one has been apprehended for the thousands of crimes that have been attributed to military or paramilitary groups in the last year.

The day after the shootings, Francisco Rebollo of the executive committee of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, declared in a press conference that "everything is ready for the political strike that will open the way for popular insurrection in the next several days. More than 80,000 workers are ready to go on strike. The strike will be total, and will continue up to the conquest of all power."

Renato Camarda is the Pacifica Radio correspondent for Central America.



JUSTICE

COINTELPRO victim loses appeal

By Greg Goldin

LOS ANGELES

THE STATE COURT OF APPEALS has rejected a bid by former Los Angeles Black Panther leader Elmer (Geronimo) Pratt for a new trial in his decade-old murder conviction.

The FBI now admits that Pratt, 34, was targeted for "neutralization" by COINTELPRO at a time when the Bureau's secret war on black dissidents left dozens of Panther leaders dead or falsely jailed. That Pratt was targeted as "operation number one" by the Los Angeles FBI office from well before his arrest, on through his trial and imprisonment was not disclosed to his attorneys, the judge or the jury when he went on trial in 1972 for the 1968 murder of a woman on a Santa Monica tennis court. Pratt, who has spent the last 10 years in Folsom and San Quentin prisons, has consistently maintained he is innocent, and that the FBI has surveillance records to prove it.

But the court voted two to one that simply because Pratt was the subject of COINTELPRO interest, it does not follow that he was framed. Justices L. Thaxton Hanson and Mildred Lillie concluded that "the presence of COINTELPRO informants...had as much effect on whether or not Pratt was afforded a fair trial...as did the furniture in the areas where the discussions were conducted."

Pratt's attorneys presented evidence to establish that:

- Two or three FBI informants infiltrated the original Pratt defense team, making confidential defense strategy available to the Bureau;

- The key prosecution witness, Julius Butler (who testified that Pratt confessed the murder to him) perjured himself



Geronimo Pratt with wife and daughter.

when he denied being an FBI informant;

- The Bureau has surveillance files that may confirm Pratt's alibi that he was in Oakland, 400 miles north of Los Angeles, at the time of the murder;

- The name of a second suspect, given to Los Angeles prosecutors by the FBI, was withheld from Pratt's trial counsel.

But a majority of the court, in reviewing this record of FBI misconduct, failed to agree with Republican Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-San Mateo) that Pratt "quite clearly did not have a fair trial under any concept of justice." McCloskey ended a 13-year absence from the bar to appear on Pratt's behalf.

In dissent, acting Justice G. William Dunn said the majority of the court "misperceive the essential issue." Pratt's

claim that his trial was tainted by law enforcement misconduct cannot be resolved without a full hearing to examine all the new facts, he said.

Rep. McCloskey has interested Rep. Don Edwards, a former FBI agent and chair of the House Sub-committee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, in a possible congressional investigation into FBI misconduct in this case. McCloskey said he will press for such hearings should a third internal investigation now underway by the Bureau prove unsatisfactory.

The latest FBI report—promised for release by Sept. 30, 1980—is now three months overdue. In the first of two previous internal reports, FBI director William Webster claimed that Pratt was never the target of COINTELPRO. When forced by McCloskey to check the facts (Pratt had already obtained FBI files proving he was targeted), Webster conceded he had been misled by his staff. Later, in a second internal investigation, the FBI admitted Julius Butler had informed on the Panthers, but Webster still contended that Butler was not an "informant," in the FBI manuals' definition of the term.

The majority's 132-page opinion spends much of its time validating COINTELPRO. Hanson and Lillie, in buttressing their ruling, accept J. Edgar Hoover's characterization of the Panthers as "a militant, violence-prone hate group." Further, they add—as if to say Pratt deserves to be behind bars for his political activity—"those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword."

Pratt's attorneys plan to file a new petition for *habeas corpus* in the California Supreme Court soon.

Rep. McCloskey, who says "I can't wait to get before the Supreme Court and argue this case," is confident that it will be accepted by the higher court. ■

Greg Goldin, a Los Angeles writer, has covered the Pratt case for two years.

APARTHEID



To hang: NCIMBITHI JOHNSON LUBISI, 28

To hang: PETRUS TSEPO MASHIGO, 20

To hang: NAPHTALI MENANA

20 years: IKANYENG MOSES MOLEBATS, 27

20 years: HLOLILE BENJAMIN TAU, 24

15 years: GRANT SHEZI, 24

15 years: JEREMIA RADEBE, 26

10 years: BOYCE JOHANNES BOGALE, 26

10 years: THOMAS MNGADI, 29

Geneva rules do not apply to South African militants

By James North

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

EACH DAY SINCE THE TRIAL began in August, the nine accused had filed into the courtroom from the basement lock-up singing the American civil rights anthem: "We Shall Overcome."

The nine, all black men ranging in age from 19 to 29, and all members of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), then faced the spectators and waved briefly to friends and family before turning toward Justice Jaap de Villiers and seating themselves in the dock.

The accused were dressed casually in sweaters and light jackets. They sat calmly on the wooden bench. Some were somber and withdrawn; others showed more animation. Accused number three, Naphtali Menana, appeared in the best spirits; he consulted regularly with those on either side of him or stared at the judge directly and intently. By contrast, accused number one, Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, seemed shaken by the ordeal; he rested his chin on the wooden rail and peered vacantly ahead.

In front of and above the accused, Justice de Villiers sat on a raised dais of polished wood, clad in a red robe, flanked by his two assessors dressed in black gowns. To his right, in what had in a previous era been the jury box, two burly Special Branch men, dressed in plain clothes, glowered at the audience.



About 80 people, almost all of them black, packed the wooden benches in the rear of the courtroom. They were mostly middle-aged people, dignified in their best clothes. One day in late November, they stared hypnotically as de Villiers delivered his judgment.

De Villiers chose to speak Afrikaans even though, like all state functionaries, he is required to know English as well. Two black interpreters took turns translating his judgment into the Zulu language, which highlighted a certain irony—the South African regime justifies apartheid in part by declaring that there is no black majority in South Africa, but instead 10 separate black "nations," which it insists are as different from each other as the countries of Europe. Each black nation therefore must exercise sovereignty in its own Bantustan. Yet though the nine accused included men from several of the 10 ethnic groups, there was only one interpreter, into one language.

The state had lodged a multitude of charges against the nine. It indicted them

all for treason, since they had fled South Africa, undergone guerrilla training in ANC camps, and returned to stage armed attacks. The state further sought to convict the nine of murder. It said accused four and five, Inkanyeng Moses Molebatsi and Hlolile Benjamin Tau, had helped plan an attack on a bank in nearby Silverton earlier in 1980 in which two hostages, both white women, died. Even though the three guerrillas who actually carried out the raid were killed in the ensuing shoot-out, the state said four and five were also guilty of murder—and so were the other seven because they belonged to the same organization, even though they had operated far from Silverton. In addition, some of the other accused also faced charges of attempted murder, robbery and of trying to recruit others into the ANC.

Listening to the judgment was a curiously jarring experience. De Villiers read in ponderous, guttural Afrikaans, and the translator echoed in mellifluous Zulu. A couple of times Mirage fighter planes from a nearby air base roared overhead, drowning out the proceedings. The spectators hunched forward, straining to catch the translation.

As expected, de Villiers found all nine guilty of treason; they had never denied membership in the ANC. Also not surprisingly, he found the first three, who had attacked a police station in the far north, guilty of attempted murder. Then he took up the cases of four and five, the links by which the state hoped to hang all nine.

De Villiers methodically read the verdict; the state had failed to prove its case against Molebatsi and Tau. He put off until the following day his decision on whether the nine collectively were guilty of the Silverton murders, but there seemed little doubt he would decide in their favor.

One would have expected joyous pandemonium from the accused and their supporters. Instead, there were simply quizzical, puzzled looks and frantic whispering. The court adjourned and the police hustled the spectators outside, where they clustered around the two interpreters, peppering them with questions. It was apparent that they had not understood a complicated decision rendered in a not wholly familiar language. As they made their inquiries, a police van with sirens wailing careened through the streets of Pretoria, taking the nine back to prison.

The next day, de Villiers finished his judgment, and, as expected, found the nine not guilty of murder. ANC supporters awaited the sentencing the following week optimistically, confident the state would not succeed in getting any death penalties.

De Villiers surprised them. After hearing arguments for mitigation, he condemned accused one, two and three to death, explaining, "If I did not regard their conduct in a very serious light, I would not be doing my duty towards the citizens of South Africa, and South Africa is a civilized country." The other accused received prison terms ranging from 10 to 20 years.

Unless an appeal succeeds, the somber

Lubisi, the animated Menana, and Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, at 19 the youngest defendant, will hang.

"Humanitarian" war.

Two days later, the exiled ANC president Oliver Tambo travelled to Switzerland to sign the Geneva Convention. In a solemn ceremony at International Red Cross headquarters, Tambo pledged that the ANC will wage a "humanitarian" war of liberation, avoiding civilian targets and treating captured South African soldiers as prisoners of war. The organization's undertaking stands in stark, telling contrast to the apartheid regime's policy in this and other trials.

Meanwhile, labor upheaval continues, and strikes are steadily taking on greater political content. Black journalists enlarged their union to include all black workers connected with the media, then staged a nationwide strike in solidarity with their members who had grievances with one Cape Town paper. Very few black journalists anywhere are working; some have been fired, and the liberal white press especially is acutely embarrassed.

Security police in the Ciskei, one of the ten Bantustans, working together

more popular than Kaizer Matanzima, Pretoria's puppet and the Transkei "president."

The regime's problems in Namibia, which it continues to rule in defiance of the United Nations, seem to be slowly coming to a head. It continues to stall on UN efforts to sponsor internationally-supervised elections (which almost everyone agrees that SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, would win). But there are signs that the Western appeasement that has blocked decisive action may be drawing to a close in response to pressures from elsewhere in the Third World and to the West's fear that the guerrilla war, which SWAPO is conducting with slowly mounting success, will radicalize the organization even further.

There is strong evidence that at least one section of South Africa's ruling National Party, including the prime minister, P.W. Botha, is prepared to give up Namibia, but fears the domestic political consequences. Ten percent of the territory's one million people are white, most of them conservative Afrikaners and Germans, and their allies within South Africa itself, who are already dissatisfied with Botha, will increase their

These trial sketches by Anne Pogrand appeared in the RAND DAILY MAIL.



with their South African counterparts, have detained 13 officials of the militant South African Allied Workers Union there. It was the biggest police crackdown against the labor movement in four years. In less than a year, SAAWU had gained the support of an estimated 10,000 workers, despite having one of its leading organizers, Thozamile Gqweta, arrested three times.

There are signs that the Ciskei "leader," Chief Lenox Sebe, may soon request "independence" for the Bantustan, despite a survey earlier this year that showed a majority of the area's inhabitants would rather remain citizens of South Africa.

Conditions continue to worsen in all 10 territories, of which the Ciskei, located along the southern coast, would be the fourth to be pushed into "independence." The 10 constitute only 13 percent of the country, but nearly half the 20 million black people are wedged into them.

In the Transkei, which became "independent" in 1976, the infant mortality rate was recently revealed to be 282 per thousand—higher than in most Third World countries. By contrast, the rate for white South Africans is 12 per thousand, the third-lowest in the world.

Even a semi-official agency has reported that per capita GNP in the Bantustans is lower than in all but ten African states. South Africa's long-standing claim that black people here are better off economically than those elsewhere in the continent can no longer be substantiated.

Pretoria's hopes to promote Bantustan legitimacy received another major blow in early December when Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, a leading "traditional" figure in the Transkei, surfaced in Lusaka, Zambia, and aligned himself with the African National Congress. Sabata is far

fire if he "surrenders" to "terrorism."

The apartheid regime will continue to stall as long as it can, hoping for a better deal from the Reagan administration and using the time for what will doubtless be a futile effort to build up its own movement in the territory, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

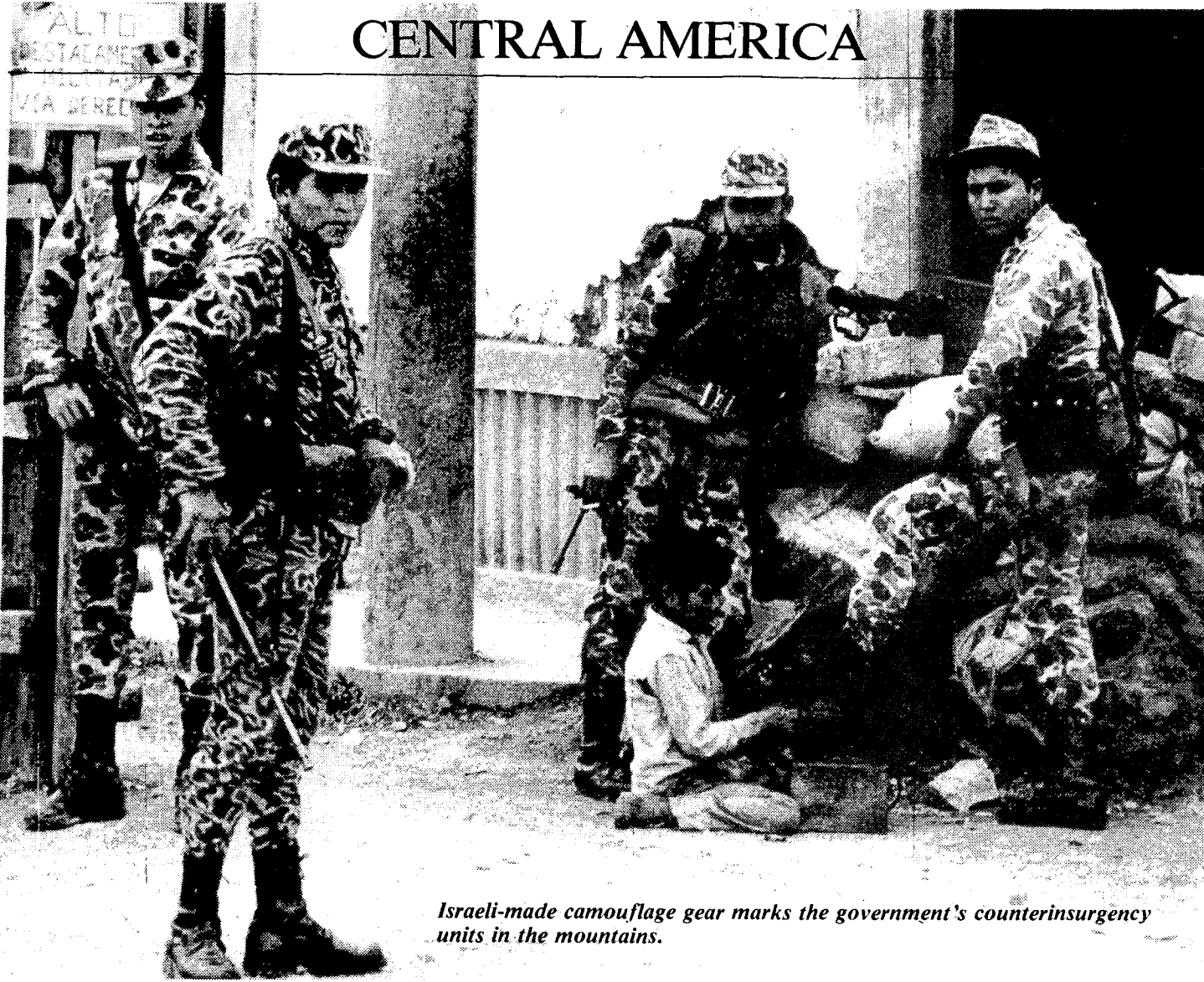
The major bright spot in southern Africa continues to be the success of the Mugabe government in Zimbabwe. The international press, perhaps piqued at its misreading of the independence elections in early 1980, continues to concentrate almost exclusively on incidents of violence and on the murder trial of Edgar Tekere, the high-ranking ZANU minister.

But even including the recent clash in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second city, between ZANU guerrillas and fighters loyal to Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, there have still only been about 75 deaths attributable to political violence in the seven months of independence—contrasted with several hundred a week in the last

Continued on page 8



CENTRAL AMERICA



Israeli-made camouflage gear marks the government's counterinsurgency units in the mountains.

Stuart Zilin

Guerrillas in Guatemala court the Indian majority

By David Helvarg

QUICHE, GUATEMALA

WE ARE TALKING WITH Major Ishmael Garcia, commander of the army garrison in Nebaj, a small Indian town 8,500 feet above sea level in the pine-covered mountains of Quiche, northern Guatemala. He is explaining to us how Jimmy Carter worked with the Communist International to promote subversion in Guatemala. He takes a locally published book called *The White House and Revolutionary War in Central America* off the front seat of his jeep and reads us several paragraphs. One of them identifies "the North American Jew Saul Linowitz" as the main agent of the Communist International inside the Carter White House. Next to us the lieutenant in charge of the garrison's *kaibiles*, or elite, counterinsurgency troops, listens attentively. He is wearing Israeli-made camouflage utilities and carrying an Israeli Galil automatic rifle. "We have many enemies in Russia, Cuba and Nicaragua, but now with Ronald Reagan we will have a friend again in Washington," the major assures us.

Overhead, a Huey helicopter supply ship swings in for a landing above the red tile roofs and fields of drying corn that mark the edge of the town. Soldiers rush to unload the chopper, tossing crates onto the back of a waiting truck while others fan out to provide perimeter security. In less than 10 minutes the copter is off again in a cloud of dust, banking sharply over the mountains, its rotor never having stopped.

"The people here don't like us," admits a 20-year-old soldier as he returns to the center of town to stand watch, taking up position behind a barricade of rocks, lumber and burlap sand bags. "They don't say hello to us on the street. They don't speak our language. You never know which one of them might be with the guerrillas."

Twenty yards away the town's church stands empty. The archbishop of Guatemala ordered the evacuation of all priests and nuns from Quiche in July following the murder of several priests by right-wing death squads. "It's just as well they left," says the lieutenant. "The church

was completely infiltrated by communists. The priests were directing the Indians into the arms of the subversives."

"There was a demonstration in this square back in February," admits the major. "We had to open fire and kill two or three people. It was a tragedy. The subversives mixed in with the crowd, dressing up like Indians and encouraging the people to throw rocks at our troops."

"Two people were killed here this morning," the young soldier tells us. "Shot inside their houses." He pauses. "I'll be out of the army in three months. The problem is there's no work here in Guatemala. Is it true what they say about all the good jobs in California?"

Two weeks of traveling through the departments of Alta Verapaz, Quiche, Huehuetenango, Quezaltenango and Solola in late November found Guatemala's major centers of guerrilla activity relatively quiet but tense. The lack of major military activity reflects the annual migration of poor highland Indians to the big coastal plantations of the country's powerful agro-export oligarchy. Here they work as seasonal laborers three months out of the year, harvesting cotton and sugar. Many of them fall victim to insecticide poisoning—DDT and other carcinogenic poisons banned in the U.S. are widely used in Guatemala's cotton fields.

Violence in town.

While actions in the northern mountains are at a lull, the month since the U.S. elections has seen a marked increase of political violence in the capital and other large towns. Two propaganda bombs exploded in the central park of Huehuetenango the night we arrived there, scattering hundreds of leaflets from the EGP (Poor Peoples Army) into the streets. In the city of Quezaltenango, 20 armed guerrillas from ORPA (the Organization of the People in Arms) attacked a national police check-point, killing one policeman and wounding several others the morning after we arrived.

In the capital upwards of a dozen people a day are being killed by rightist gunmen. The victims are mostly activists from what remains of Guatemala's decimated trade union movement, students at San Carlos University and moderate opposition party members. Vinicio Cerezo, leader of the Christian Democrats, holds

Confrontations subside each season when the highlanders go to work the harvest.

the military government of General Romeo Lucas Garcia responsible for the deaths of 26 leaders of his party. Church and human rights spokespeople suggest that the government-linked death squads have become more active in recent days in the belief that the incoming Reagan administration will overlook human rights abuses in order to aid the military in its fight against the left. Army spokesman Major Eduardo Dominguez attributes the left's stepped-up response to "psychology—the need for the communists to boost their own morale and play for international sympathy during the transition period in Washington."

The Carter administration cut off all military aid to the U.S.-trained and equipped armed forces of Guatemala in 1977 in response to alleged human rights abuses. "It's like Uncle Sam was help-

ing a child to walk and suddenly let go of its hand too soon," is how Major Dominguez sees it. "With the new administration coming in we'll be able to walk well again. I think we'll see a decline in guerrilla activity such as occurred during the Nixon years."

Asked if the displacement of Indians below the Chixoy River Dam and along the Franja Transversal Strip (the petroleum rich "zone of the generals") might have contributed to increased guerrilla strength in the area, the major denied it, insisting that the people would come to appreciate the benefits of development. "It's just like when the U.S. built the railroads coast to coast," he said. "First you had to remove the Apaches, the Indians and the farmers who got in the way."

Mobilizing the Indians.

While Guatemala has had leftist guerrilla movements for some 20 years, it has only been in the last two years that these movements have attracted large numbers of poor Indian campesinos who make up 55 percent of Guatemala's population. When the guerrillas take over towns and *fincas* these days they address the people not only in Spanish but also in the Indian language or languages most common to the area.

"When the guerrillas took over here we were quiet and listened to what they had to say," a resident of a small town in Quezaltenango told us. "Right now the people are against the government but don't have the arms to defend themselves. If you don't want to join the guerrillas and go off to the mountains there's really not much you can do. After the guerrillas left the army came here and beat up some people. They burned down a number of houses. They were very rough."

Last winter a delegation of Indians from Quiche marched to the capital to protest army activities in the north. When no one in the government would see them they went to sit in at the Spanish embassy. On Jan. 31, 39 people were killed when the police attacked the embassy and a fire broke out. The Spanish ambassador blamed the deaths on the police and Spain cut off diplomatic relations.

The increasing politicization of Guatemala's Mayan Indian majority combined with the recent example of the Sandinista victory in nearby Nicaragua and the growing class war in neighboring El Salvador has encouraged Guatemala's four main political-military organizations, the Poor Peoples Army (EGP), Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA), Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) and Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT) to begin working together on a common program and strategy. With better coordinated actions they have begun taking a significant toll on the military, wiping out a *cuartel* (fort) in San Juan Cotzal and downing two army helicopters in the last six months, according to high ranking members of the armed forces.

The U.S. government intervened in Guatemala 26 years ago when the CIA helped organize an exile army to overthrow the reform government of Jacob Arbenz Guzman. As the situation here again polarizes, many Guatemalans are wondering if the new administration in Washington is going to try and repeat the past.

David Helvarg has been filing a series of reports from Central America.

Africa

Continued from page 7

part of the war. Relations between the Patriotic Front coalition partners remain uneasy, but the gradual formation of a new, unified national army is the best signal that the worst may be over. Tekere (who even if not guilty committed a gross error of judgment) is hardly typical of the new government's mode of operation.

Zimbabwe's successes, meanwhile, are under-reported. The number of black children in school has increased from 800,000 to 1.3 million since independence; the half million war refugees are being re-settled; the exodus of whites has

not become a panicked flood; the economy is growing at a healthy rate of 6 percent a year. These accomplishments, stunning in a country that was so recently wracked by total war, have been achieved with only a trickle of outside aid instead of the torrent promised by the West.

The changes in Zimbabwe were not primarily brought about by Western pressure, or negotiations, or a change of heart by the minority government. They were brought about by guerrilla war. The view in South Africa is that similar changes here will require similar methods. Three young men who put these views into practice, and who quite properly should be treated as prisoners of war, are currently on death row. Only a vigorous international campaign can save them from the gallows.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FRANCE

But nobody wants them as neighbors

IT WAS JUST THE PROPER CHRISTMAS Eve story to round out a year like 1980. Three hundred and twenty Africans were settling into an immigrant workers' hostel in the Paris suburb of Vitry, when all at once, an unwelcoming committee of some 50 new neighbors hove into view, accompanied by a bulldozer and the Communist mayor of Vitry, Paul Merceica. Also on hand was Guy Poussy, French Communist Party (PCF) secretary for the Marne Valley swath of the famous "red belt" around Paris that boasts such PCF luminaries as Georges Marchais.

The unwelcoming committee had come to tell the Africans to get the hell out of Vitry and go back to their previous hostel in the nearby suburb of Saint Maur, whose mayor is not a Communist but rather aligned with the government of President Giscard d'Estaing. Thus to Communist mayor Merceica the transfer of 320 Malian laborers from their dilapidated quarters in Saint Maur was obviously part of a Giscardian plot to dump immigrant workers into Communist municipalities like Vitry to turn them into ghettos, create racial tensions and exhaust their welfare funds.

This did not make much sense to the 320 Africans. All of them belong to three extended families from the same village, Kaye, in drought-plagued northern Mali. They stay strictly out of French politics or any other kind of trouble, and all major decisions are made by their traditional chief Jimmy Doucouray. The palaver between the Marne Valley and Malian chieftains broke down almost immediately. To the astonishment of the Malians, the men from the Vitry unwelcoming committee set to ripping out the hostel's telephones, electric wiring and gas and water pipes. The building's heating system was wrecked. As a final gesture of hospitality, the bulldozer shoved hunks of the dreary nearby landscape up against doors and stairways to block entrances. Their job done, the anonymous defenders of Vitry disappeared home to warm Christmas Eve dinners, leaving the bewildered Malians shivering through the holiday week.

This brutish display was widely and heartily condemned. Editorialists noted that the PCF's anti-ghetto policy was plunging it deeper into its own political ghetto. But some liberal commentators, while deploring the bulldozer raid, were ready to agree with the PCF that the government was setting the stage for racist troubles. And a survey of shopkeepers—the most available, if not necessarily the most representative, sample of public opinion—showed that the PCF had struck a responsive chord in working-class neighborhoods. "I don't usually agree with the Communists, but this time they are absolutely right. If something isn't done to stop this invasion, we'll end up like the South Bronx..." (scare symbol to the world). "If bosses want to hire cheap foreign laborers, let them take them into their own neighborhoods. You don't see any Algerians living in Neuilly" (the fashionable upper-class suburb). "If they don't want to learn our language and customs, they should stay in their own countries..."

French apartheid.

The Vitry raid served to draw public attention to the policy spelled out Nov. 15 by PCF secretary general and presidential candidate Georges Marchais. "We are fighting against the Giscardian government's apartheid policy," Marchais told a campaign rally. "The racists are those who encourage the creation of immigrant ghettos in working-class suburbs. We demand even distribution of immigrant workers among all communities." A few days later, the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT) chimed in with a call for a halt to immigrant worker ghettos that "burden certain communities with excessive social costs, while others get away with refusing to take in immigrants." The campaign has proceeded with the artificial stridency by which the PCF signals that it has defined the terms of a problem once and for all. In reality, even the term "immigrant"

is ambiguous. Some immigrants, like the Vietnamese, come in families to settle permanently in France. Others, like most Algerians, come on a temporary basis, leaving behind wives and families whom they support from afar. The "temporary" status may last a lifetime and remains unaltered by "family regroupment" measures allowing a certain number of long-established immigrant workers to bring their wives and children to live with them. The term is also sometimes applied to people from Martinique and Guadeloupe, even though they speak French and are French citizens with full rights.

For years, The PCF, like the Socialist Party, has denounced discrimination against immigrant workers and demanded that they be granted full rights, including the right to vote. Many Third World workers have joined the PCF during their stay in France. Thus the director of the Paris Mosque, Si Hamza Boubakeur, expressed consternation at the "thoughtless and cruel" treatment of the Malians in Vitry. He called on PCF leaders to "reverse your paradoxical decisions in order to avoid a grave split between the Communist Party and the Moslem proletariat both in France and the rest of the world."

But this is an election year, and foreigners can't vote. Indeed, immigrant workers have no rights at all. Harassed and intimidated by police "identity checks," they can be thrown out of the country overnight, if, for instance, they make themselves conspicuous by militant labor or political activity. Favors done them by left-wing town halls do not pay off at the polls.

(HLMs), set up special classes for school children whose native language is not French and keep the percentage of foreign children in vacation camps down to 15 percent.

The Socialist Party, which is also seeking working-class votes, has been cautious about joining in the chorus accusing the PCF of racism. Socialist spokespeople condemned PCF strongarm tactics in Vitry but stressed that latent racism was being encouraged by the explosive mix of spreading unemployment and the crowding together of poor, insecure populations unable to understand each other. The Socialist mayor of Epinay said it was "easy to shout 'racism' when you live far from the ghettos. Concentration of immigrant workers beyond a certain threshold is bound to create problems." The American sociological notion of a "tolerance threshold"—usually estimated at about 10 percent to 14 percent foreign population—beyond which a community starts to freak out, has been widely accepted and popularized.

The claim that immigrants burden municipal budgets may well be true in some cases, but political and cultural strains provide much more heartfelt grievances. The American melting pot is widely considered not to have worked, even with much more space and a favorable ideology. The French working class has a political consciousness that comes from living with its history in a homogeneous culture, whereas the American working class has been perpetually cut off from its history and fragmented culturally. The red belt labyrinth is oriented

pleased as punch at his roomers' faithfulness to the Koran and to their mysterious traditional customs that keep them so well-behaved (prayers and innocent games, no alcohol or women on the premises). Chief Jimmy Doucouray is furious with the Vitry mayor for suggesting his people would drain the local treasury. In 12 years, he has never taken advantage of the French welfare services his community is entitled to. When a Malian has a problem, the community solves it.

Back in the early 1970s, a number of the revolutionary groups that flourished in the wake of May '68 concentrated their efforts on trying to break through language and cultural barriers to build solidarity with Third World immigrant workers. Repression and the political disillusion of the '70s took a heavy toll on such activities, even though the internationalist, anti-racist impulses that gave rise to them are still alive.

Since the recession began to threaten employment, West Germany has been shipping its "guest workers" back to their native countries, while in Britain, racial clashes have grown worse as unemployment has surpassed 1930s' depression levels. The PCF no doubt figures it can best control and channel inevitable working-class hostility to immigrant workers by getting in there first with its own expression of such sentiments. PCF leaders may rationalize that they are forestalling racism by directing wrath against Giscard and the bosses, and blaming them for creating ghettos. But the Vitry

Working-class suburbs of Paris fear American-style "ghettos" as a result of the immigrant influx.



At the hostel in Vitry, residents spent the holiday in coats and hats after rampaging demonstrators wrecked the heating system.

Saint Denis, flagship town of the "red belt," estimates its immigrant population at 28 percent. Its showcase cultural activities—quality theater, concerts and museums, the joy of leftist teachers and artists who want to share the things they love with the people—are less and less noticed by a population that scarcely speaks a common language. Last November, when immigrant workers were expelled from a Saint Denis hostel as the result of a rent strike, PCF officials rushed to their side and provided them with a municipal hall to sleep in. But when, four weeks later, the same workers marched to the Saint Denis town hall to demand more comfortable lodgings, they were thrown out so roughly that a couple of them ended up in the hospital. That was the day before the Vitry incident.

One Communist municipality after another has been voicing its complaints and demanding that the central government in Paris stop placing immigrant families in low-cost housing projects

in history by street names recalling great events, heroes, martyrs and culture heroes of the working-class movement. The Vitry immigrant hostel is in the Rue des Fusilles, named after Communist leaders held hostage by the Nazis and shot in 1941 in reprisal against French Resistance attacks on German occupation forces.

This sacred history is unlikely to mean much to the Malians, who are as cut off from the surrounding population as French technicians who go to Mali. Most of them got their work permits to sweep streets and empty garbage cans, "jobs French people won't do anymore"—at least not at the wages the Malians accept and mostly send back to the grateful village of Kaye, where they spend their vacations and hope to return to live some day. Meanwhile, insofar as possible, they preserve their village social hierarchy, language and customs. The agent for the French company that runs the Saint Maur and Vitry hostels seems

bulldozer aggression set an example of callous disregard for the feelings and well-being of foreign workers that in practice placed the PCF not in opposition, but right alongside the Giscardian government, which is playing on the growing anxiety of hard times to develop the theme of "insecurity" supposedly threatening law-abiding citizens from rising criminality (greatly exaggerated) associated, by all sorts of insinuations, with immigrants.

The French state tends to maintain its monopoly of violence more completely than the governments of most Western countries, and so far brutality against foreigners has mainly been the work of the police. The PCF behavior in Vitry risks merely enlarging the consensus willing to look the other way as immigrants are abused by the vested authorities. This would not be the first time that, in practice, the PCF policy coincides neatly with that of the rightist government it so loudly opposes.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

EUROSOCIALISM

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON THE INSTITUTE FOR Democratic Socialism's recent conference in Washington referred to its title as "Eurocommunism and America." As the readers hopefully gathered, the actual title was "Eurosocialism and America."

-Nancy Lieber, Conference Director
Washington, D.C.

NO MAGIC WAND

I AM A PRACTICING LAWYER. I APPLAUD Roberta Lynch's sentiments in "The courts should be the last resort." (ITT, Dec. 17.) I am continually appalled at the way our society treats lawyers as the high priests of some sort of state religion. One of the particularly disturbing things about this is that the mystification of lawyers is often more acute among leftists and progressives than among anyone else. Although this is probably a natural result of the fact that during much of the 20th century the courts, especially the federal courts, held out the only hope for relief from oppression, it is time to realize there is no magic wand in those lawbooks. No lawsuit ever organized a factory, overthrew a tyrant, or converted anyone to socialism. Lawsuits, it is true, have at times removed legal obstacles that stood in the way of social progress. But the people's demand for progress, their efforts and their will, had to be there or the lawsuit would have made no sense. Legalisms used by lawyers in their arguments are not what produce results—all legal theories do is provide ways to articulate the desired results. If your judge is sympathetic to your cause, he will use the phraseology your lawyer provided him to verbalize his sympathy, and make it sound like he was convinced by your lawyer's logic and precedents. Reliance on this system is no substitute for building popular movements in the social-political sphere or for compromise and mediation in the private sphere. The legal system is there to be

used when you have no hope and nowhere else to turn—but only then.

-David Van Os
Austin, Tex.

ABOVE PAR

THE DECEMBER 17-23 ISSUE OF ITT IS excellent. The whole paper is very good, but these articles in particular were way above most everything I have been reading lately.

John Judis' "Reconstituting Power in America" points out very clearly the choices for the '80s: democratic parliamentarism or a Roman style dictatorship supportive of corporate capitalism. Diana Johnstone's "Socialist Parties Champion Interests of the Third World" hit home because I followed with great concern Michael Manley's unsuccessful struggle with the IMF. Finally, John Fullinwider's "Dallas" highlights the shift to the sunbelt of the economic center of gravity of this nation and the resulting changes in the style of government, power and corporate leadership.

I believe this is the best issue of ITT I've read so far and want to congratulate all of you for it. As I said years ago, this paper is important to me and to a lot of other people who rely on *In These Times* to stay informed in an era of advertising and propaganda.

-Art Liebrez
Corte Madera, Cal.

RAILROADS

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON THE closing of Pullman Standard's Chicago and Hammond plants overall is very good and I am impressed. However, there are a couple of technical errors that I feel compelled to comment on. First, the introduction of "bigger freight cars" has not slowed down freight trains. If anything, the average speed of freight trains across the U.S. is at an all-time high. Moberg also errs when he says heavier trains have destroyed the rails and roadbeds, because the tracks on the

railroads that handle the heaviest trains (grain and coal) are in the best shape (UP, ATSF, BN). Although the heavy grain and coal trains take their toll, non-maintenance is what has destroyed rails and roadbeds. Examples: Conrail and Rock Island, now bankrupt.

His second error is that he states railroads can be run profitably and are run profitably in Europe. I haven't seen the figures, but I doubt this very much. Besides, in a socialist society, we aren't concerned about profit but with providing a service for the most people.

-Stephen C. Condit
Abilene, Ks.

David Moberg replies: A study prepared for the Department of Transportation—"The Railroad Situation: A Perspective on the Present, Past and Future of the Railroad Industry"—indicates that freight traffic has slowed down in speed. For optimum use of the track, trains need to reach certain speeds for which the track was designed. Otherwise, wear on track and wheels increases. Also, a detailed study by Robert E. Ahlf for Modern Railroads indicated that the 100-ton freight car that has come to dominate freight-hauling rail traffic in the past decade is not only wearing down the tracks faster than anticipated but also causing new stress fatigue and failure. Although the companies have obviously failed to maintain the tracks in many instances, these technical changes also appear important in the destruction of American railroads.

Some lines in Europe and Japan apparently run profitably, especially if one subtracts certain accumulated debt payments, but Condit is correct in saying that the assessment of the overall economic rationality of the train systems requires consideration of savings and costs elsewhere in the economy with different modes of transportation and not simply the profit and loss statements of the railroads by themselves. Broader social goals obviously would also be weighed by a socialist government.

BENIGN IGNORANCE

I WAS STRUCK BY THE INCONGRUITY of your cover page for the Dec. 10, 1980, ITT. When I saw the words "rumors of war," I presumed the issue to deal with the crisis in Poland, not El Salvador. I was even more surprised to see that as the world is treated to the spectacle of the raw Soviet blackmail of Poland, its party and its workers, the issue did not breathe a word about the crisis or the causes.

This remarkable quiet about the Soviet Union and Poland was complemented by an amazing article by Fred Halliday that read like an early '60s dispatch from Saigon, only this time the whitewashing, the reliance on impressions of "peace" and the sanguine acceptance of "official" estimates of the occupying regime come from the left and its "investigative" reporting. In the end, ignoring critical issues about the nature of self-determination in a socialist world and the consistent inability of the Soviet Union to come to terms with legitimate self-determination given its own strategies of dominance, the article cloyingly accepts the Soviets' own version of "Afghanization" as the way to solve the problem.

To benignly ignore the Soviets' "indiscretions" and never seriously address the issue of how cultural pluralism and legitimate aspirations of opposition groups can be made compatible with socialism is tantamount to simple endorsement of the Soviet Union's own imperialism and the equation of Soviet self-interest with socialist and not democratic success.

It is a mistake the left has too often made and one that ITT seems perfectly willing to succumb to.

-J. Patrick Dobel
Ann Arbor, Mich.

RADIO MOSCOW

IS IT WISE TO PRINT AN ARTICLE BY A full-time Soviet propagandist? (ITT,

Dec. 10, 1980.) I don't know Fred Halliday or the Transnational Institute, but I recognize Radio Moscow's line, and, having lived in Afghanistan for two years, there are too many missing facts he couldn't have failed to notice, such as the immediate popularity of an American on any street and the total unpopularity of Russians. He mentions 300 teachers being killed, but fails to mention that they were teaching that the Holy Koran is no good and encouraging students to inform on parents who oppose the government. He says that Pakistan is providing an "open frontier and sanctuary" for the rebels, but is apparently unaware that the British Raj in India was never able to close it, and it has been open since. Pakistani law is not in effect in the frontier province.

The important thing to remember is that Afghans prefer simple concepts. They don't know anything about communism, except that it's *bekhooa* (godless). They don't understand Russians helping Afghanistan, they just see *teja-wuz* (invasion).

Fred Halliday is wrong. Karmal's days are numbered. But in the meantime, you can look forward to the "American newspaper, *In These Times*," being quoted on Radio Moscow.

-Michael Philips

Fred Halliday replies: Mr. Philips seems to have learned little from his two years in Afghanistan. His claim that "Afghans prefer simple concepts" is a patronizing slur, for it was Afghans themselves, without encouragement from the USSR, who in 1978 began to bring social progress to their impoverished country, one of the only three in the world with a life expectancy of less than 40 years. It is grotesque to find an American who supposedly sympathizes with the Afghan people and who condones the killing of 300 teachers, on any grounds, let alone the spurious charge that they were insulting the Koran. His remarks about the Pakistani frontier are no less misleading: the nomadic tribes there may enjoy a measure of autonomy, but the myth of Pakistani lack of control is one put about to mask official support for the Afghan rebels. One can be quite sure that when left-wing rebel forces appear in this area the Pakistani regime is quick to assert its control and only recently some leaders of the socialist Mazdoor-kissan Party, based in Peshawar, have been sentenced to death on trumped-up charges.

Both Philips and Dobel seem to be antagonized because my account of the situation in Afghanistan differs from that conventionally put out in the West, and this is true. But even reporters of the major bourgeois papers are now admitting that much of what was broadcast about Afghanistan in the months following the Soviet intervention was false, both in regard to the situation on the ground, and in regard to the USSR's strategic intentions. Even the State Department has now admitted that it "relaxed its accuracy code" on Afghanistan. Philips' jibe about Radio Moscow is rubbish: I doubt very much if Radio Moscow will be telling its listeners about my report on the divisions within the ruling party in Afghanistan or about my evaluation of the security situation in the countryside. But I would agree with Dobel about the need for a socialist paper to produce a comprehensive and critical evaluation of Soviet foreign policy, and to take up a clear stand on illicit cases of Soviet intervention (as would be the case in Poland) or on collusion in the suppression of progressive movements (as in Eritrea). Evaluation of Afghanistan would certainly be part of such a discussion, but it can only be based on facts and it was these that I sought to provide in my report from Kabul.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



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ST21

Inequities defeat Arizona Prop. 13

By John Farley

Arizona's archconservative reputation is well-deserved. It is a right-to-work, non-ERA state, and the only one in the country without a Medicaid program. In the November elections, Arizona was so securely in the Reagan camp that Carter didn't bother to mount a serious campaign. Nevertheless, good news for progressive forces came from this most unlikely source—Arizona voters decisively turned back a Jarvis-style tax-limitation initiative.

Proposition 106, called the "Heusler Initiative," after its chief proponent, William Heusler, began several years ago as a small-scale campaign financed by Tucson businessmen and supported by right-wing anti-government zealots recruited largely from John Varga's ultra-conservative Southern Arizona Caucus. Heusler himself is a private detective who was fired from the Tucson police force several years ago. It seems that his original motivation was to harass the police chief, but he later used his newfound celebrity status as a tax crusader to run for county assessor.

The Proposition 106 campaign picked up steam after the June 1978 victory of California's Proposition 13. The big shopping centers, which stood to gain enormous tax reductions, lent financial support and Heusler's petitioners gathered over 100,000 signatures for the initiative at shopping malls. With tax-cutting fever apparently a nationwide craze, very few office-holders would speak publicly against the initiative. Proposition 106 appeared to be rolling to victory unopposed.

But opposition developed from two sources. The statewide teachers' union, which rightly feared the severe effect on educational employees, began to mobilize their own members and related organizations. At the same time, Tucson activists, with links to liberal Democrats, public-employee unions and community organizations, decided to launch a broad-based public campaign against the initiative.

But the debacle in California suggested that a campaign based solely on the threat of government services cuts would lose. Everybody thinks that it's the other guy's service that will be cut. Instead, opponents decided to run against the gross inequities that would be created by Proposition 106. Although total property tax revenues would be reduced by 50 percent, homeowners wouldn't receive the benefit. Indeed, homeowners would receive negligible tax reductions or actual tax increases while businesses would get whopping tax reductions ranging from 30 percent to 75 percent. Also, because of a peculiarity of the initiative, property that changed hands after 1975 would be taxed at a much higher rate than similar property that was in the same hands continuously since 1975, creating an additional inequity between pre- and post-1975 homeowners. This provision had special force in fast-growing Arizona, where approximately half the houses in the Phoenix and Tucson areas have changed hands since 1975. And because homes change hands far more often than commercial and industrial property, the long-run effect of Proposition 106 would be to freeze business taxes at a low level, while allowing homeowner taxes to rise, thus shifting the property tax burden onto the homeowner.

Another important strategic decision, made early in the campaign, was to pursue an alliance with parts of the business community. To do that, the anti-106 campaign stressed the no-growth implications of a severe tax cut. Some wiser heads in the business community looked beyond the immediate tax windfall for business in Prop. 106 to a potentially serious anti-business backlash if homeown-

ers—who expected to receive huge tax benefits—saw those benefits going to business instead. Mine owners, for example, might have their property taxes reduced only to face the possibility of being hit with a severance tax, a threat they had so far evaded.

Getting business—any part of business—to oppose Proposition 106 was a difficult task. Despite the pro-business orientation of government in Arizona, anti-government ideology and free-enterprise fairy tales run rampant in the business community here. The first inclination of many businessmen was to take the tax cut and run.

But in the end, Proposition 106 was turned back by the broadest coalition ever assembled in Arizona. In addition to teachers and other public employees, it gained the support of nearly all politicians, as well as senior citizens' groups, feminists, the Chambers of Commerce and homebuilders. Even the mining interests, who stood to save a staggering 75 percent on their taxes if the proposition passed, joined the coalition against it. The statewide PTA came out against it, the first time that group had ever taken a political position. The ad hoc coalition against Proposition 106 distributed a record-breaking half-million pieces of campaign literature and raised \$200,000—about as much as proponents raised from the big shopping centers.

The diversity of the anti-106 coalition was its strength, but the only glue holding it together was the threat of the tax-cut initiative. In the absence of such a threat there is little basis for unity. As one businessman explained at the final meeting of the coalition, "You union folks, it's been nice working with you. I really love you all...but I'm on the state board of the Right to Work Committee."

John Farley, a physicist, served on the statewide steering committee of the "No on 106" campaign.

Workers vote against anti- corporate tax

By Glen Boatman

The failure on Nov. 4 of the Ohio Fair Tax Initiative by a better than three-to-one margin demands attention, since this state tax-reform measure was one of the most comprehensive and well financed initiatives in decades.

The initiative (State Issue 2) would have provided a property tax rebate of up to \$300 to low- and moderate-income

League of Women Voters was the only civic group to oppose Issue 2.

Marylynne Cappelletti, co-chair of the Ohio Fair Tax Initiative Committee, which supported the reform issue, pointed out that more than 80 percent of the households in Ohio would not have paid additional taxes under the measure and 50 percent of the households would have received a rebate.

It took two years and nearly 160,000 signatures to get the Fair Tax Initiative on the ballot. The initiative was bottled up in the Ohio legislature for months before additional signatures were obtained to place it on the ballot. Business challenged the initiative 13 times in the Ohio Supreme Court. A last minute lower court ruling a week before the election ruled the issue off the ballot, but the Supreme Court restored it because the ballots had already been printed.

But a poll taken by the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), originators of the initiative, found that business interests successfully raised doubts about the measure's legality in voters' minds.

Business spent close to \$4 million to defeat Issue 2. The Ohio Fair Tax Initiative Committee spent \$600,000 on the campaign. Ads placed by business argued that the cost of tax increases to industry would be passed along to consumers in the form of higher prices, and that the creation of new jobs would be hurt by tax increases (unemployment in Ohio is 9 percent, 20 percent in Toledo). Industry ads also played on the sentiment against government waste by suggesting that a billion-dollar blank check was being given the legislature.

The Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC) attributed the defeat of Issue 2 to the fact that business outspent proponents of the tax initiative six to one. But the loss can be attributed to other factors as well.

Legislators opposed to Issue 2 placed a second tax reform on the ballot. State Issue 1 offered to restructure taxes without offending business interests. Issue 1 passed with 53 percent of the vote. The Ohio Chamber of Commerce offered only token resistance to Issue 1 and allocated all their resources to the campaign against Issue 2.

Both the Democratic and Republican Party sided with the corporations and used Issue 1 as part of the campaign to defeat Issue 2.

But let's look at another aspect of the defeat. Workers, who are at least 50 percent organized in Lucas County (Toledo), voted three to one against Issue 2.

An informal survey of 15 of my fellow maintenance workers at the Sun Oil refinery in Toledo found four voting for Issue 2 and 11 against. Of the 11 voting no, two voted no because they hadn't checked the issue out and felt safer voting for no change. (The union local [OCAW 7-912] had distributed pro-Issue 2 newspapers in the shop.) Two shopmates cited the argument that taxes would simply be passed along and that jobs would be lost as their reason for voting against Issue 2. Several of the younger workers understood the basic features of the initiative but felt it was too complicated and voted instead for Issue 1. An older electrician who changed his mind several times during the final week finally voted no because, he said, he couldn't afford higher taxes.

Since its defeat, OPIC has admitted that it was mistaken in attempting to increase individual income taxes and corporate taxes at the same time. Business was able to isolate the groups supporting Issue 2 from individual taxpayers who might otherwise have supported the initiative.

Polls done by OPIC showed that if the theme "corporations are not paying their share" had been the center of the campaign the issue might have passed. Instead, the property tax cut for homeowners was featured as the central theme. And finally, Ohio has one of the lowest tax burdens in the U.S. (49th). Taxation was not the overriding burden it was in California before Proposition 13 or in Massachusetts this year where proposition 2½ succeeded.

Glen Boatman is a member of OCAW local 7-912 who worked on the Issue 2 campaign in Toledo, Ohio.

PERSPECTIVES

Business, workers have mixed responses to state tax-cutting initiatives



Ohio Public Interest Campaign members gathering signatures for the progressive tax proposal that was soundly defeated in November

But the very breadth of the coalition created certain problems. Its support among business and political leaders gave proponents of the proposition an opportunity to launch a demagogic campaign against politicians and big business. But coalition activists stuck to the campaign themes of inequities between commercial interests and homeowners, and between pre and post-1975 homeowners. And their success proves that the tax issue does not have to be handed to the right by default. Nor are tax issues too complicated to be presented to the general public in a progressive way.

Since the media campaigns of the two sides cancelled each other out, grassroots campaigning by teachers, community organizations and PTAs made the difference.

Leading by two to one in late summer, Proposition 106 lost by about the same margin on Nov. 4.

homeowners and renters. At the same time it would have raised taxes on corporate profits and increased income taxes for individuals with federally adjusted household incomes over \$30,000. It would also have repealed certain corporate property tax breaks the Democratic controlled legislature granted business in 1978. And finally, it would have ended business tax abatements for new developments, such as the 20-year break granted Owens Illinois (with assets of \$200 million and annual profits of more than \$50 million) to build a new corporate headquarters in Toledo.

One might have expected that Issue 2 would have been supported wholeheartedly by working people. So why did it fail?

In all, more than 30 statewide organizations supported Issue 2, including all the labor unions (except the Teamsters, who remained neutral), senior citizen groups and the Farmers Union. The Ohio

INPRINT

IDEOLOGY



An engraving of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere.

The roots of protest

Ideology and Popular Protest

By George Rude
Pantheon Books, 176 pp.,
\$4.95, paperback

By Edward Countryman

Marxian historiography is thriving in this country. It is hard to remember that just a little more than two decades ago liberal consensus ruled in classrooms, journals and publishing houses. It was only in 1959 that George Rude published his first book, *The Crowd in the French Revolution*, and in 1962 that E.P. Thompson brought out *The Making of the English Working Class*. Between them, and with the very considerable aid of Rodney Hilton, Christopher Hill, E.J. Hobsbawm and Albert Soboul, Rude and Thompson forced scholars to rethink not only their own specialist areas of European history, but also the whole purpose and method of doing social history. Though all of those historians are Europeans, their influence has been great in the U.S. While fully upholding professional standards in their research and writing, these scholars and most of their students have understood that historiography is an intervention into the culture of our time as well as a confrontation with a time long gone.

Rude's new book, *Ideology and Popular Protest*, is the latest development in its author's own exploration of the past and a tribute to the many historians who have followed his example. The book is slim and, since Rude has never been one for pedantry, it is light on academic apparatus. Since Rude has worked in French, British and Australian history, it ranges widely.

Rude attempts to recapture the

concept of ideology for Marxian historiography and explore its use in understanding popular protest. Ideology is a concept that Marx first developed, a concept that found its most subtle expression in the work of Antonio Gramsci, Georg Lukacs, Karl Mannheim and C. Wright Mills. Yet during the past 15 years the discussion of ideology in English has been dominated by non-Marxists such as Clifford Geertz, Edward Shils and Bernard Bailyn. Rude's concerns here are twofold. First, he argues that only by understanding ideology in Marxian terms can we understand the relation between beliefs and values, action and transformation. Second, he develops his own schema for thinking about those relations in the pre-industrial and advanced industrial societies.

Following Gramsci, Rude rejects the notion of "false consciousness." He also rejects a purely mechanistic derivation of ideas from material reality or from class interest. Rather, he is concerned with the ideologies of groups that cannot be fitted into the framework of a sharply polarized bourgeoisie and proletariat, groups such as peasants, artisans and shopkeepers. His rejection of a simple mechanistic, polarized relation reflects his awareness that people of all sorts are capable of thinking and acting for themselves. This awareness has informed his whole historical project. His attention to peasants and artisans stems from his research into how such people made rebellions and revolutions. It also stems from his desire to grasp the possibilities and the limits of what such people could do on their own.

Rude's schema posits two different kinds of ideology, one the product of the experiences of or-

inary people and the other the result of the work of intellectuals. The first, which he calls "inherent ideology," is akin to Gramsci's notion of "good sense" or to Thompson's "plebeian culture." It is simply the crystallization of the whole range of a group's experience, together with the development of a language, whether in words or deeds, to express it.

The second usage, which he calls "derived ideology," is the explicitly political consciousness that stems from intellectuals' reflection on and analysis of the state of society.

Using the concept of ideology in these two ways enables Rude to dispense with the notions of "false" and "correct" consciousness and to develop a sophisticated understanding of why some protests become revolutionary and others do not. The reason some ideology is revolutionary is not because it is true rather than false. Rather, ideology is revolutionary to the extent that inherent ideology, articulating people's direct concerns, joins with derived ideology, which is capable of focusing popular concerns on the need to transform relationships of power and dominance, rather than merely to rectify ills. By themselves, neither angry plebeians nor dissident intellectuals can produce a revolutionary ideology, and intellectuals cannot force insights on people unwilling to entertain them. But if intellectuals and plebeians can make common cause, the possibility for serious change opens up.

Rude demonstrates this by comparing protest in three different situations. One is peasant rebellion, which he examines in medieval Europe, under absolute monarchy, and in Latin America. The second is bourgeois revolution in 18th-century North America and France, and in 19th-century France. The third is protest in Britain as it underwent the transition to industrial society between 1750 and 1850. Rude is most at home in 18th-century England and France, where he can draw on his own encounter with the primary sources, than with his other subjects. But that he can include, for instance, revolutionary North America in his comparative framework is proof that his own writings have inspired students of the American revolution to investigate new dimensions of their subject.

Rude is able to distinguish between protests that became revolutionary and protests that did not. All protests involve a consciousness. None are merely the blind explosions of inchoate rage. He has been hammering at

this point since his first book. But in revolutionary protest people recognize that dissident intellectuals are speaking to their own problems and that those problems involve power.

Rude argues that would-be revolutionary intellectuals must articulate an ideology that speaks to what is happening around them and in the process learn from the ideology of the people; that angry people can develop and grow in political consciousness as they realize that intellectuals are speaking for them as well as to them.

A revolutionary movement is thus a coalition, forged with great difficulty. Only with the union of insight, anger and energy can serious change be achieved, but such a union is precarious. It can fail when intellectuals grow fearful of the consequences of their words, as Martin Luther did during the German peasants' revolt. It can fail when angry people withdraw support from intellectuals who no longer speak to their needs, as the Parisian *sans-culottes* withdrew support from the Jacobins. It can be sidetracked when intellectuals direct popular anger into established channels, as happened in Whig England or, arguably, in America during the Depression. But such a union is created when people have a clear awareness of what needs doing and the discipline and perseverance necessary to do it. Then great things can be achieved. The events in North America in the late 1770s and France in 1798 are proof of this.

Rude's argument is that the achievement of a union of insight, anger and energy requires the mutual respect of thinkers and people and that each must learn from the other. His initial challenge to historians 21 years ago was met by the outpouring of books and essays that have made possible the synthesis he now presents. The challenge to intellectuals is to reach out of their own ghetto and to understand and give form to the troubles and fears in the society around them.

Edward Countryman teaches *American Studies at England's University of Warwick* and is currently a visiting scholar at New York University.

NOTEBOOK

Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal-Mining Songs
By Archie Green
University of Illinois Press,
504 pp., \$12.50

Attention high school teachers, college teachers and labor educators. Folklorist Archie Green's classic *Only a Miner* is now available in a gorgeous and underpriced hardcover textbook edition. Green examines mining music and miners' lives in a study that is part anthropology, part labor history and part musicology. The well-chosen illustrations, over a hundred of them, enhance the appearance and content of the book, which sharply addresses the question of the relationship between working class culture and mass media.

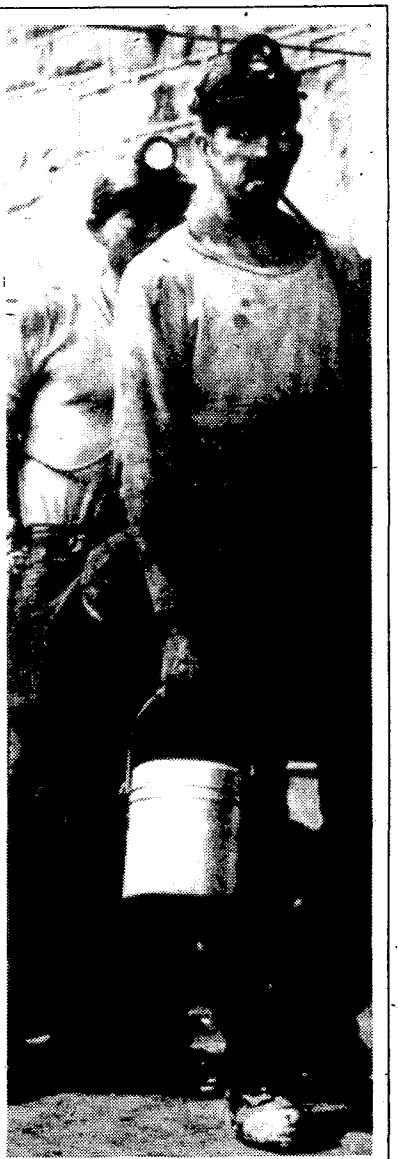
DRR

People Without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan
Edited by Gerard Chaliand
Zed Press/Lawrence Hill,
246 pp., \$19.95 (hardcover)
\$7.95 (paper)

The national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people briefly nudged its way onto the nightly

news about a year ago during a period in which American enmity toward the Khomeini regime in Iran coincided with that of the Kurds. Though sympathetic to the Kurdish movement—albeit in a self-serving fashion—American press coverage was superficial in the extreme and suggested nothing of the deep historical roots and wide geographic expanse of Kurdish nationalism. This fine volume focuses on just those areas and features penetrating essays on the Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Syria and the Soviet Union as well as Iran. Written mainly by Kurdish intellectuals and activists, the book also includes an account by Archie Roosevelt Jr., then U.S. deputy military attaché in Tehran, of the history of the short-lived Kurdish Mahabad Republic of 1946. Chaliand's editing is graceful and unobtrusive and Maxime Rodinson's preface argues elegantly that progressives must defend national rights, even against incursions by anti-imperialist governments. DRR

Contributor: David Roediger



MEDIA

Pacifica radio gets static from New Right

By Paul Bundy

On November 5, just one day after conservative politicians swept the national elections, the leader of a prominent New Right organization announced at a Washington, D.C. press conference that he felt the federal government should stop subsidizing liberal ideas. Gazing at the crowd of journalists, Howard Phillips, head of the Virginia-based Conservative Caucus, found a target for his displeasure.

Singling out a reporter from the Pacifica News Service, which provides news feeds to the five non-commercial radio stations owned by the Pacifica Foundation in Berkeley, California, Phillips said, "We have a gentleman here from Pacifica Radio, which is federally subsidized and has a very liberal point of view." Phillips went on to urge a halt to federal funding of the Pacifica stations, which broadcast progressive views and alternative forms of music.

Phillips' remarks were not the first criticism of Pacifica stations from the New Right in recent months. In October, two conservative magazines published articles attacking the stations, which are located in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Houston, New York City and Washington, D.C.

The lead story in the October 11 issue of *AIM Report*, published by the Washington-based Accuracy in Media, noted that Pacifica stations received nearly \$2.5 million during the past ten years from various federal agencies and foundations, including the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), even though these stations are "notorious for the broadcasting of filth, racist material, and extreme leftist propaganda." Editor Reed Irvine concluded in a separate editorial that federal support for the Pacifica stations is "ludicrous" and that "there seems to be little or no check by those doling out these funds to insure that they are used for any worthwhile purpose."

An even stronger denunciation of the Pacifica stations appeared in the October 20 issue of *Spotlight* magazine, published by the ultra-conservative Liberty Lobby. The article, titled "Public Pays Communist Broadcasters," charged that WPFW, Pacifica's owned-and-operated station in Washington, regularly broadcasts "pro-communist" programming.

An Organized Movement?

Peter Franck, chairman of the Pacifica Foundation, says he believes the recent criticisms of Pacifica may be part of an organized conservative movement to banish progressive ideas from the airwaves. "I think it would be surprising if it were a coincidence," he said. "My sense is that the New Right is very sophisticated about the media, and I think they understand how important it is that there are independent electronic media funded by the listeners."

Sharon Maeda, executive director of Pacifica, agreed, but added she did not believe the attacks on Pacifica are part of a "Reagan conspiracy." However, she said she feared changes within Congress and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) may leave public broadcasters on the short end. She expressed concern over proposals to deregulate radio broadcasting and the November 4 loss of Warren Magnuson (D-WA), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and a long-time supporter of public broadcasting.

Critics of the Pacifica stations argue that these stations have received funds from CPB and NTIA without meeting these agencies' guidelines for allocating funds. They charge that Pacifica stations fail to provide "balanced programming," maintain an adequate number of staff members, and submit program logs and other technical information.

The programming of the Pacifica stations comes in for the strongest criticism. For instance, both the *AIM Report* and the *Spotlight* articles accused WPFW of broadcasting communist material.

Spotlight referred to *Salsa de las Americas*, WPFW's Sunday afternoon Spanish-language program, as "pro-communist" and "anti-American." To back its claim the magazine cited a September 21 broadcast that discussed the assassination of former Nicaraguan president Anastasio Somoza and included comments by a representative of the Farabundo Marti Block, a leftist political faction in El Salvador. The magazine called the broadcast "a shocking endorsement of assassinations of political leaders and armed revolutions against governments supported by present U.S. policy." *AIM Report* also criticized the September 21 broadcast, as well as programs featuring representatives of the Iranian Students Association and the speeches of Malcolm X.

When asked to comment about the *Salsa de las Americas* program, producer Elizabeth Ortega said the program was an objective news report based on wire service information. "We said what every newspaper and television station said," she asserted.

Free Speech.

Although persons associated with Pacifica admitted that the stations occasionally have allowed persons espousing communist views to speak on the air, all defended the practice.

Mark Cooper, news director at KPFK, Pacifica's Los Angeles affiliate, argued that the principle of "freedom of speech" gives Communists the same opportunity to air their views as other citizens.

"The Communist Party is a recognized legal political institution," he said. "If they [the New Right] mean we believe in the First Amendment to the degree we'll allow a Communist occasionally to speak on the air—I say fine."

Cooper denied that KPFK's staff was biased toward a left-wing perspective. "We have people who work here who are left-

ists, and we have people who work here who are extreme right wingers," he said.

Pacifica president Franck supported Cooper's position on the First Amendment, saying that CPB and NTIA should not be involved in questions of programming content. "We think that if we are to receive support from the federal government it should be made available to all stations on the basis of objective criteria. Anything else would be a serious violation of the First Amendment."

Sources at both CPB and NTIA agreed that allowing programming content to influence their decisions to allocate grant money would be unconstitutional, although some expressed displeasure with the programming on the Pacifica stations.

"If I knew that there were subversive broadcasts going on, whether we funded them or not, I would be greatly concerned," said John Cameron, head of NTIA's Public Telecommunications Facilities Program. "However, I

citizen to subsidize ideas in which he does not believe," he said.

Concern at Pacifica.

At the Pacifica headquarters in Oakland, reaction to the many charges leveled against WPFW and the other Pacifica stations has consisted of uncertainty and concern. When asked whether New Right organizations will succeed in pressuring Congress to cut off funds for Pacifica stations, Peter Franck said, "I don't expect it, but there's a risk it could happen."

David Salniker, general manager of KPFA, Pacifica's Berkeley station, said he didn't doubt that his station will come under attack as a result of the Reagan administration. But he said that prospect will not affect KPFA's commitment to progressive programming. "We don't plan to hide from what we consider to be McCarthy-style attacks," he said.

Although Pacifica officials appeared to be concerned with the prospects for continued federal financing, Phillips of the Conservative Caucus told *access* that the Pacifica stations have nothing to fear—at least right away. "Although Pacifica is paranoid and nervous, believe me, we have other priorities," he said.

Even if the New Right could shut off Pacifica's supply of federal money, the stations would survive, all Pacifica officials interviewed agreed. However, the stations would have to scrimp and save, they said.

For the five Pacifica stations as

reported similar success in her station's fund-raising efforts. The station just completed a fund drive netting more than \$100,000 in pledges, the most successful fund-raising effort in the station's three-year history, she said.

Salniker echoed the cautious optimism of his Pacifica colleagues, saying his station will survive. "We've weathered the years of McCarthy and Nixon," he said, "and we can weather this administration as well."

Even if the Pacifica stations survive the current wave of criticism, the most disturbing issue is whether the current attacks on Pacifica will spread to public broadcasting as a whole. Several Pacifica officials expressed the fear that National Public Radio (NPR) will be the next target of New Right criticism. NPR now receives about 90 percent of its income from federal grants.

On Nov. 5—the same day that Phillips leveled his charges against Pacifica—Frank Maniewicz, president of NPR, said, "I don't think there's anything in the election returns that necessarily would cause people in public broadcasting any concern. Liberals and conservatives, Democrats and Republicans have all shared support for public broadcasting in the past. I would assume, until I see evidence to the contrary, that they will in the future."

But New Right critics of Pacifica feel similar displeasure for NPR. "I would tend to question



WBAI in New York is one of the stations under attack from the right.

think we would be remiss—and I suspect we would be operating contrary to our authorizing legislation—if we were to tell stations what they can or cannot program."

CPB and NTIA sources agreed that the FCC is the proper agency to evaluate programming content. They said that their agencies have an obligation to fund any station the FCC licenses.

Phillips of the Conservative Caucus reached a different conclusion. In a personal interview, he argued that restrictions on programming content not only are constitutional but are also protected by the First Amendment. Phillips cited the "freedom of religion" clause, which he said applies to political as well as religious philosophies, to support his belief that the government has no business subsidizing liberal ideas.

"I agree with Thomas Jefferson that it is tyrannical to force a

whole, less than a quarter of all income (23 percent) comes from federal grants, Franck said. More than two-thirds (68 percent), he said, comes from listeners.

Franck noted that the Pacifica stations existed for 25 years without federal funds. The elimination of federal money without some sort of compensation would force the stations to reduce their staffs by almost half.

But such economizing might not be necessary, Maeda said, since Pacifica listeners might make up the difference if federal funds were cut off.

In fact, Cooper said KPFK's fund drive is running ahead of its original goal. The increase in listener donations may have been generated over concern for the future of Pacifica. "There's no question that there has been a surge in support for the station since the elections," he said.

WPFW's Lorne Cress-Love

where these [federal] grants are desirable or necessary anyway," Reed Irvine told *access*. "It seems to me if there's a need for a market, a number of private entrepreneurs will come in and provide the necessary service."

Howard Phillips went a step further and said that Congress should abolish all funding for public broadcasting. He said NPR, like such other "government-funded" organizations as the Legal Services Corporation, the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, subsidizes liberal ideas at the public's expense.

"There shouldn't be a National Public Radio," he said. ■ Paul Bundy writes for *access* magazine, which is published by the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, and in which a version of this article appeared.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



FILM

It isn't a pretty picture

By Pat Aufderheide

Raging Bull presents the self-destruction of a small-time American hero. What makes Bronx boxer Jake LaMotta (Robert DeNiro) fight? For director Martin Scorsese, it's the same things that twist the characters of his earlier films, *Who's That Knocking On My Door* and *Mean Streets*. What drives men mad is mom, the flag and apple pie.

Women are mothers and whores. Jake is obsessed with the sultry madonna figure, a blonde and elegant neighborhood girl (Vicky, played by Cathy Moriarty). After he marries her, his jealous fears take over to torment him. Jake is equally ob-

essed with basic civics: play fair and let the best man win, because in America you get ahead on your merits. Only years of dedicated punching in the ring teach him that the mob fixers have the power. Jake is also obsessed with food. He eats with abandon, and it kills him as a fighter.

We pick up the story when Jake, a small time fighter, falls in love with Vicky. His career takes off in tandem with the growth of his family and his paranoia. As his career goes into a fixer-induced stall, he becomes increasingly violent at home. Finally he takes a dive and the dealers let him have his shot at the middle weight championship. He wins, but then slides

deeper into his paranoia and compulsive eating. He loses his title, his family and the club where he so enjoyed playing big man and lecher. If there is any doubt about the links between sex and violence, in the middle of the film we get juxtapositions between home-movie style scenes with Vicky and gritty ring scenes. They speed up to a flash card effect.

This is a chronicle of collapse, a tourist's guide of the road to hell, with stops to gaze at the paving. It is also an attempt to share with the visitor the experience of that collapse.

Unlike *Mean Streets*, this is not a story of a neighborhood, but of one man's self-destruction. Subjective sound—clashes,

explosions, a roaring in the ears—and subjective visuals—soft focus, special lighting around Vicky, slow and stop motion for moments of key importance—give us Jake's view. It ought to get us inside his skin and let us feel the explosive effect of those fierce beliefs in such a limited environment.

It doesn't. Halfway through, the film's narrow vision becomes boring before it can offer a release from the frustration that Jake must live through. The hero's limitations are exposed from the outside, but never explained. A scene where he demands that his brother hit him in the face is typical. After bullying his brother into doing it, he smiles cryptically; what's the point? But we also must feel his pain in explosive fight closeups (people's faces burst with blood), in his confining house, in the increasingly hostile looks of those around him.

The effect is to shrink him—to reduce the social tragedy of a loyal belief in American and Catholic myths to the story of one unpleasant bully. DeNiro gives one of the finest performances ever seen in American film, but the character he delineates is just a thwarted, sad, vicious thug.

Raging Bull should caution us against ignoring the social context of personality. Jake LaMotta was not the alienated man of *Taxi Driver*. He was a hero to Bronx boys and their families—a celebrity, a fighter of integrity. But we never get a sense from the movie of what Jake LaMotta meant to the community he drew his values from, and therefore we cannot understand the social tragedy of his behavior.

Instead the film's bleak interior vision bolsters a current cinematic myth: that the men of the New Hollywood are brooding, sensitive.

Raging Bull became a media legend before its release. Scorsese made the film in black-and-white to avoid the problem of color fading in what assuredly

would be a masterpiece. There was the fierce integrity of the actor DeNiro, who took four months off to eat his way into the character of the paunchy ex-fighter. There was the grim realism of the project, debunking



the sentimental *Rocky* image of fighting.

So in *Raging Bull* the Calvinist guilt of Paul Schrader (one of the screenwriters) was mixed with the Italo-Catholic anxiety of Martin Scorsese in the medium of Robert DeNiro's masochistic intensity. The result is not a pretty picture. Nor is it art. But it certainly is strong stuff.

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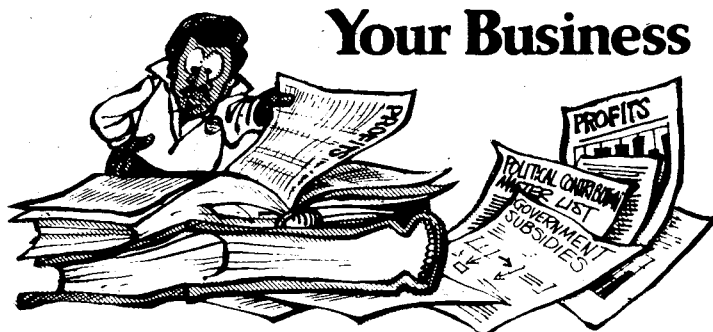
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BERKELEY, CA

January 16

El Salvador: Reagan's first foreign crisis? A symposium, Friday, at the University of California, Berkeley. The first session will meet at 10:00 a.m. in Zellerbach Auditorium and the second session will meet at 2:00 p.m. in Wheeler Hall. Speakers and panelists include representatives from Amnesty International, the U.S. Labor Movement, experts on U.S. foreign policy, and a member

of the FDR—the broad opposition group in El Salvador. The symposium is sponsored by professors concerned about U.S. involvement in El Salvador, a U.C. Berkeley-Stanford Coalition, and the Latin American Students Association at U.C. Berkeley.

January 17

Demonstration protesting the draft and intervention in El Salvador. Saturday at noon. Starting at the Berkeley Civic Center (Grove and Allston Way) and convening at Sproul Plaza on the U.C. Berkeley campus. Speakers will include experts on U.S. foreign policy; a member of the FDR, the broad opposition group in El Salvador; and local government officials. Car-pools from San Francisco will be arranged. For more information call 282-3070. Sponsored by the Coordinating Committee of Solidarity with El Salvador.

LIFE

Continued from page 16

raise children, that's all they know. But how to feed the children—that they don't know.

I have a time down at work with some of the women, especially the older ones. They'll say, "If God wants me to be happy, I'll be happy; if He wants me to be laid off, it's His will, and I must accept it and not doubt Him." I'll say, "Listen, don't you blame God for everything! Just because you're afraid to join the union and do something to keep your jobs safe and your children fed decently, don't throw it on God!"

Sometimes I'll be up early in

the morning, and just sit down at the window and watch old ladies, seventy years old and more, going to work in the yards, so bent over and shriveled up and sick it makes you want to cry just watching them. The bosses make it so miserable for them, too. They should give them the easier jobs if not a pension for them after they get so old. Instead, they'll set an old woman to work at a high truck and have her bending over, taking heavy cans out of it, all day long. They'll be so gray in the face after a day's work, almost dead-looking. They have to sit down there on the floor and rest for half an hour after work before they have the strength to get up and go home at night. Sometimes some of us change jobs with them for a while if the foremen aren't around, but when they catch us we get bawled out.

They want to make the old ladies quit, see.

I've been working at Agar's for eight months now, since Armour's put me on the blacklist. Our union contract expires in July and we're negotiating for another one with them now. I was appointed steward by union membership vote. Agar's isn't so bad now. Half the plant was organized before I got my job, but we did have to crawl to get the others in. Now what we want is a good contract and if they won't bargain, all we need to do is tie up the killing floor and Agar's will close up tighter than a clam. They can't afford that. And we've got the plant with us solid.

In the departments where there's salt water on the floors, every month it would do for a pair of shoes. It eats the leather out. We got after the government inspectors and the com-

pany, and the union made them keep sawdust on the floors after that. When we kick about things like that and talk about the union, we make the boss mad. When he gets good and mad and he knows he can't stop us from talking, he hollers, "Every dog gets his day and when I get mine!" And we just laugh and say, "Oh, the dogs have their day now, you had yours ten years ago, before the union came." Does he get sore!

Once I was working nights and it was one minute to eleven—we were supposed to start at eleven. The girl next to me was waiting, and she had her thumb in the dry cornmeal machine bin, picking at something. At the other end of the room was the girl who turned on the machinery switch when it was time to start. Well, that lousy foreman thought he'd rush work, and so he came up to

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the machine starter and hollered, "Alright, shake your fannies! It's eleven o'clock!" She pressed the switch, and this other girl at the end of the room screamed. Her thumb was cut clean off—because of a man so eager to push company production that safety restrictions meant nothing to him if he could chisel even a minute of the girls' time. It's things like that the union is here to prevent and to see that when some worker does meet such an accident she won't be thrown out on the dump heap, maimed and thrown a little compensation sop that wouldn't last a year. The companies can't get away with that anymore. People know more.

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Anna Novak tells of Chicago's packing plants in the '30s and the coming of the CIO.

ANN BANKS' *FIRST-PERSON America* (Knopf, \$13.95) collects 80 narratives, gathered by interviewers from the Federal Writers' Project (FWP) during 1938 and 1939, in a handsomely illustrated volume. The FWP, a short-lived New Deal experiment in federal aid to the arts, concentrated on the collection of folklore, regional culture and the oral histories of poor and working people. Its 6,500 employees included such aspiring young writers as Jack Conroy, Nelson Algren, Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, May Swenson, Margaret Walker, Richard Yerby, Richard Wright, Arna Bontemps, Zora Neale Hurston and Conrad Aiken.

From the neglected 150,000-plus pages of material transcribed by FWP interviewers, Banks has culled a selection of remarkable narratives, which she groups under eleven headings, ranging from jazz to immigrant life, from CIO organizing to carnival lore. Her brief introduction tells the story of the FWP and suggests the care Banks brought to her editorial task. Contacts with eleven of the surviving interviewers and some of their subjects make the introductions to the chapters and individual narratives particularly full of detail and sensitivity. The excerpt that follows includes Banks' own introduction to a selection from her chapter on the "Back of the Yards" packing-house neighborhood in Chicago.

Anna Novak was "a good Catholic," according to Betty Burke's background notes, "but criticizes certain activities of the Church freely, probably due to husband's influence, his cynical attitude, and his advanced political views." Novak's statement that "lots of the priests say 'The CIO is against religion and the Church'" tells only one side of the story. The strongest forces in the Back of the Yards community were the union and the Catholic Church. Although some priests initially resisted the CIO, individuals from each group eventually worked together. In July 1939, a Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee mass rally featured as speakers both John L. Lewis and Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, one of the first major church leaders in the Chicago area to support the CIO.

I've had eight years of the yards. It's a lot different now, with the union and all. We used to have to buy the foremen presents. On all the holidays, Christmas, Easter, Holy Week, Good Friday, you'd see the men coming to work with hip pockets bulging and taking the foreman off in corners, handing over their half pints. Your job wasn't worth much if you didn't observe the holiday custom. The women had to bring 'em bottles, just the same as the men. You could get along swell if you let the boss slap you on the behind and feel you up. I'd rather work any place but in the stockyards for that reason alone.

I tried to get out a couple of times. Went to work for Container Corporation. Used to swing a hammer on those big wooden boxes. My husband wouldn't let me keep on there; it got to be too much for me to handle. I had to have work, so I went back to the yards. I worked in the canning rooms at Armour's. In summertime they're full of damp and steam so dense it's like a heavy fog and you can't breathe. In winter the steam penetrates your clothes and turns cold and clammy on your skin; your hands and feet simply freeze. You should see the rash the girls who have to handle poisoned pork get. And the acids from cans gets you so you can't stand up. You don't know what's the matter with you,



but you can't work to save your life.

When the union came they made me steward of the girls in my department. Then because we were getting somewhere with the union they thought they'd scare me, so they laid me off a couple of times and broke up my seniority that way. Then after I got through testifying at the National Labor Relations Board they laid me off for good. I used to come up to old lady McCann and ask her why I couldn't get back. I'd say, "Haven't I always done good work, haven't I been a steady worker?" And she'd say, "Yes, Anna, you're a good worker, and an experienced girl; but you see now that your seniority is broken, I can't do anything for you." And all the time I'd be sitting there talking to her I'd know she was giving me the horse laugh. That dame got many a shiner from girls for her mean tricks. There was a time when she couldn't step out of her office without an escort because girls and women she'd laid off would wait for her right outside. I mean

hundreds of them. Everybody has it in for her, because they all know what it's like to go through her mill. But when it comes to getting work she's God Almighty as far as Armour's is concerned. No woman gets in or out of Armour's without her say-so.

Here's one thing the union changed while I was in Armour's. They have some kind of honor system: the white girls in Armour's usually get better work if they work fifteen years. A little easier job, you know. What do you think they give the colored girls who work that long? They give them a black star pasted on their time cards! They hardly ever get a chance at anything but the dirtiest, wettest jobs, that even the white men can't stand or just wouldn't take. And that star is an easy way for the bosses to spot the colored women so that they won't accidentally give a good job to one, in some emergency. The union is putting the heat on that particular practice. The colored girls come into the union easy, and at union meetings now they stand up and have their say.

The Polish girls and the Lithuanians, they're the hardest to get in. You know how it is. There'll be a bunch of Polish and a bunch of Liths working and the foreman will play them against each other, and they'll fall for that stuff. They'll be so busy calling each other names, lousy Lugans or dumb Polacks, that when the time comes to get together, they can't, they're so used to fighting. The big reason, though, is that they're ruled by the priests and lots of the priests say, "The CIO is against religion and the Church!" They tell the Polish women, "You have no business going to union meetings, you should stay home and be concerned with raising a family of good Catholics." Around here they always yell about the married couples who have no children. They don't want to give them absolution. Raise children, raise children,

Continued on page 15

LIFE ON THE LINE

